Early South Indian Temple Architecture

Study of Tiruvāliśvaram Inscriptions

Dr.K.D. Swaminathan, M.A.,Ph.D.

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K.D. SWAMINATHAN

Madras
30th August 1990.

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Abbreviations

A.I. Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.

A.R.Ep. Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras.

A.R.Ind.Ep. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Delhi.

A.R.S.Ind.Ep. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Delhi.

A.R.Madr.Govt.Mus. Annual Report of the Madras Government Museum, Madras.

A.S.I.A.R. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Simla and Delhi.

A.S.S.I. Archaeological Survey of South India, Madras.

B.E.F.E.O. Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d' extreme-Orient, Hanoi and Paris.

Bijdrag. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Ned.Indie, The Hague.

B.I.T.C. Bulletin of Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras.

B.Madr.Govt.Mus. Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Madras.

B.S.O.A.S. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

C.H.J. The Ceylon Historical Journal, Peradeniya.

C.I.I. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

Ep.Carn. Epigraphia Carnatica, Bangalore.

Ep.Ind. Epigraphia Indica, Delhi.

Ep.Zeyl. Epigraphia Zeylanica, London and Colombo.

Ind.Ant. Indian Antiquary, London and Bombay.

Inscr.Pud.State. Inscriptions of Pudukottai state, Pudukottai.

J.A. Journal Asiatique, Paris.

J.A.H.R.S. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

J.A.O.S. Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven and New York.

J.A.S.B. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

J.I.H. Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.

J.I.S.O.A. Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

Journ.Madr.Geog.Assn. Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Madras.

J.N.S.I. Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Vārāṇasī.

Journ.Or.Res. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

M.A.S.I. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.

Mys.Arch.Rep. Mysore Archaeological Reports, Bangalore.

New.Ind.Ant. New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

Proc.Ind.Hist.Congress. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Sessions.

Proc.Tr.All India Or.Conf. Proceedings and transactions of the All India Oriental Conference.

Qu.Journ.Myth.Soc. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

S.I.I. South Indian Inscriptions, Delhi and Madras.

S.I.T.I. South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Madras.

Tijdschr.Bat.Gen. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land en Volken Kunde, Bataviaasch Genootschap.

Trans.Arch.Soc.S.I. Transactions of the Archaelogical Society of South India, Madras.

Trav.Arch.Ser. Travancore Archaeological Series, Trivandrum.

Un.Ceyl.Rev. University of Ceylon Review, Ceylon.

Z.D.M.G. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

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Introductory

The rich
will make temples for Ṡiva
What shall I,
a poor man
do?
My legs are pillars
the body the shrine
the head a cupola
of Gold
Listen, O Lord of the meeting rivers,
things standing shall fall,
but the moving ever shall stay.

Vacanna 820 Basavanna (1106 - 1167 A.D.)*

Indian temples are traditionally built in the image of the human body. The ritual for building a temple begins with digging in the earth, and planting a pot of seed. The temple is said to rise from the implanted seed, like a human. The different parts of a temple are named after body parts. The two sides are called the hands or wings, the *hasta;* a pillar is called a foot; *pāda*. The top of the temple is the head, the *ṡikhara.* The shrine, the innermost and the darkest sanctum of the temple is a *Garbhagṛiha*, the womb house. The temple thus carries out in brick and stone the primordial blue print of the human body. This symbolism could be extended further; If a temple has three doors, they represent the three states of consciousness (sleep, waking and dream) through any of which you may reach the lord within; if it has five doors, they represent the five senses. But in history the human metaphor fades. The model, the meaning is submerged. The temple becomes a static standing thing that has forgotten its moving originals.

* S.S. Basavanal's edition, Dharwar, 1962., Also J.B.Alphonsokarkala (Ed) An Anthology of Indian Literature, Penguin Books, 1971, p.494.

Medieval South Indian temples looked remarkably like palaces with battlements; they were richly endowed and patronised by the wealthy and the powerful, without whom the massive structures housing the be-jewelled gods and sculptured pillars would not have been possible.

India is a geographical unity of colossal size with many diverse regions and climates. For five eventful millennia, this country ranging from the snow-capped mountains of the Himalayas through densely forested slopes and plateaux, tree-scattered river plains and arid desert, to the lagoons and palm trees of the south, has formed a complex cultural and artistic unity. The conventional history of Indian art, the main lines of which were laid down years ago, needs to be vastly extended, diversified and reconcieved. No one individual could carry through this enormous task. The situation is further complicated by the fact that at all times in India, arts at different levels of sophistication have existed alongside each other in each area.

Every artistic tradition develops on the basis of certain special visual and aesthetic ideas. These reflect the emotional needs and imaginative pre-possessions of the people for whom the art was made; and if one wants to understand the meaning of any art, one has to explore these ideas in depth. Leaving aside the discussion of dynasties, warfare and trade routes that usually dominate historical books of Indian Art, the Cant-theology and pseudo mysticism dominating many other works is carefully avoided here.

India is a land of villages ; between them stretching across the face of the subcontinent radiates an apparently infinite network of fields and paths. In these villages life was hard. The villager's preoccupations were always the basic ones — birth, marriage, procreation and death. All of these depended for good or ill upon the fertility of the earth, the visitations both of disease and of the tax gatherers. The dramatic vagaries of the Indian climate are well known. For most of the year, in desperation if the monsoon fails, his life revolves around the water supply. He catches it in little dams; he carries it from his village pond; he leads it laboriously along miles of irrigation ditches; he dredges it from deepwells. Cobras and Cholera, small pox and scorpions are his intimate companions. He has the most direct possible experience of the forces governing growth and decay, life and death.

As a consequence he is vividly aware of the numinous in his coutryside. All the forms that surround him are symbolic of experiences

deeply engraved on his spirit. And these forms have been gathered over the ages into a symbolic language of images. Through it he presents to himself the ultimate realisation of what he is, where he is going, whence he has come, in the colours of horror, sensual delight, awe, disgust and wrath. Above all he has a virtually immediate perception of the presence on a given spot of the actual power that rules his life. As a consequence his countryside is filled with places where divinity dwells. These places become his shrines, the terminals, as it were, of the transcendent power supply from which, by appropriate rituals, he can draw the strength he needs to carry on his life.

Every village has its holy spot, or shrine. The hallows may be; the stump of an ancient tree with two contorted branching arms, cased in earth painted with bands of red and white; an ant hill from which mysterious sound was once heard emnating, daubed with red dots; a raised plinth under a tree upon which are piled fragmentary stone statues of an earlier age, ploughed up from their fields by the peasants; a huge boulder cased closely in a wall on three sides, the fourth face being painted. In larger villages or towns the hallows will be enveloped in a cell; a temple might grow up around a hellowa which showed notable prowess in the answering of prayers, as richer men paid for architectural and sculptural embellishments in gratitude for requests fulfilled.

In some of the oldest and most sacred ancient temples, the central image (*mūla bhēra*) shares the innermost shrine (*garbhagṛiha*) with a ruined ant hill or the stump of ancient tree – (the *Āl marȧ* or Ficus Religosa in the case of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple). – the original nameless hallows around which the whole temple grew.

The fabric of the temple itself expresses in outward form and sculptural ornament the potency of the ancient hallows. To the Indian mind, always profoundly in touch with peasant realities, all sculptures in fact, perform this same functions– they are vessels full of the immanent divine, not only the icons of a deity himself but all other images to some-degree or other.

The Indian temple as a structure enshrining an object of veneration, circumambulation (*pradakṣina*) adoration and worship (pūja) had a varied growth in different parts of the sub-continent, according to the local needs or credal requirements subject to the interplay or exchange of thoughts and ideas. The basic elements of the tem-

ple and the worship derived mainly from *Vēdic* and Purāṇic sources, assuming different styles and norms during their diffusion over wide areas. .The emergence of Jainism and Buddhism (pre-christian) and the development of the legends, creeds, forms of deities, rituals and the like resulted in their adaptation of one kind or another of the temple form and its adjuncts suiting the object of their particular worship. Essentially the temple in its form and layout depended on the object of veneration installed and the modes of worship. The three creeds, retained the common Indian plans and elevations, displaying however these credal distinctions by suitable adoption of their forms by emphasizing the features of the cognitions of the respective creeds in the general formation and content of the structure.

The builders (*stapatis*) or the craftsman (*šilpins*) who belonged to the guilds of artisans having common principles and set methods of design and erection, worked in collaboration with the preisthood, which knew the rituals, the nature of objects of veneration and the modes of their worship. They, together, determined the forms of the temples with such modifications to suit the respective cases, as also the fixation of the features of the principal deities and the decoration of the complex into iconic or sculptural embellishment. This consequently resulted in the evolution of the *Vāstu*, *Šilpa* and *Āgama* texts and canons as described in the *Šāstras*. All that was known and necessary in the creation of the temple and the conduct of worship therein was codified. Thus to the Indian mind the indigenous architecture remains bascially and essentially Indian. It cannot be subdivided, into 'Hindu', 'Jain' or 'Buddhist' architecture as is usually made out.

The tradiiton of rock cut architecture and excavation into living rock of *Caitya* and *Vihāra* of the Buddhists initiated by Aśoka near Gaya was soon pursued in the trap rock region of Deccan and Western India, reproducing aspects of contemporary brick and timber originals, which did not survive because of their perishable nature. The expression of forms of architecture and sculpture through the more permanent medium of stone, adopted earlier by the Buddhist, then the Hindu and the Jains, has enabled a good perspective of the contemporary religious architecture and sculpture. The brick built *Stūpa* and *Caitya*, which are in essence temples in Eastern Āndhra and Northern Karṇāṭaka regions, have survived because of the use of stone for their protective casing and sculptured veneer, as also the railings which imitated the timber work in their joinery and fixtures.

Introduction

Since the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. the Hindus and Jains of the South took over the stone medium started excavating rock cut cave temples or monolithic temples, (cf. Māmallapuram, Mandagapaṭṭu, Malayadikurrichi, Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi, Tirupparankunram, Ānamalai, Kaḷugumalai) and ultimately built them in stone. A long series of such temples created in close succession, extending continuously through the past 13 centuries, surviving in their thousands, more in the far south where most of them are still in use. The comparative freedom of foreign onslaught and disruption and the relative stability and strength of the kingdom and society were necessarily the contributing factors. The early Hindu and Jain temples came into being under royal patronage of the great empires of the South. The Cāḷukyas, Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas and Cōlas alongwith lesser kingdoms wedged in between. This spirit was soon followed up by the nobility, mercantile corporations and agricultural, trade and artisan guilds, in a chain of temples, big and small studding every village and Town of South India, which came to be known as the land of temples. The temples were documented by their own expressive and detailed inscriptions. The Cōḷa temples (9-10 cents) became the very hub of the rural and urban life in all aspects, religious, cultural, social, economic and educational - and thus becoming the repository of all that was best in fabric, architecture and sculpture.

The South Indian temples with their characteristic tiered *Vimāna* shrines, their axial and peripheral *maṇḍapa* adjuncts, (flat-roofed halls) and the towering *Gōpura* entrances form a distinct class by themselves as the Northern *prāsāda* temple with their curvilinear superstructures, the crowning *āmalaka* and *maṇḍapas* with rising tiered roofs. The *Vimāna* form in its various plans and elevations built of brick or timber had been developed in the South before the 7th Century A.D., as evidenced by the maturity shown by the first monolithic replicas as reproduced in the *rathas* of Māmallapuram and the earliest of stone structural *Vimānas*. The *maṇḍapa* forms are likewise evident from the cave temple types, while the *gōpura* in its simplest from is also found in the early temple units (cf. Shore temple, and the Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñcīpuram).

South Indian temple architecture sculpture and iconography had a great share in the contemporary make up of the religion, culture, art and architecture of the regions, to the east in the Indian Ocean, through the maritime contacts actuated by trade and the peaceful

emigration of colonists than by motives of political aggrandisement. In fact, it may be emphasized that many of the greatest achievements in the fields of art, and architecture and religion are to be found in areas beyond the centres of the great religions of South India – as at Tañjāvur, Madurai and in other countries as in Java and Cambodia.

Since even the simplest architectural and art terms of European classical origin often employed in the description of Indian Temples are indequate and not apt, the barest use of Indian technical terms of common Sanskrit origin for the most important members, as used in the *Vāstu* and *Śilpa* manuals has been attempted.

1

The Earliest History of Tiruvalisvaram

Tiruvālīśvaram is a village two miles north-west of Brahmadēśam in the Ambāsamudram *taluk* of the Tirunelvēli District of *Tamil Nadu* State, situated on the banks of the Karuṇai *āru* or Ghaṭanā *nadī*, a tributary of the Tāmraparṇī i. The district is one of the southernmost in the State, being bounded on the east and south by the Gulf of Mannār, on the north by Ramnad district and on the west by Kērala State.[1] The frontier between the district and Kerala State follows with a few exceptions the watershed of the Western Ghats. To the west of the Tenkāśi *taluk*, where the mountains drop down to form the Āryankāvu pass, the frontier comes east of Ceṅkōṭṭai in the low country. Again near Panaṅguḍi, the boundary line descends from the top of the Mahēndragiri and continues southward along the level country till it meets the sea four miles east of Cape Comorin. Large villages or towns are found mainly in the fertile valley of the Tāmraparṇī.[2]

The hills on the west are a continuation of the western Ghats, which, except for a recess in the Tenkāśi *taluk*, run in a straight line from the northern limit of the district as far as Pāpanāśam, from there sweeping for about twelve miles in a bold curve towards the south-east and then once more running southwards towards the sea. The average height of this range is about 4000 feet. The Ghats attain their greatest width south of the border between Ambāsamudram and Tenkāśi *taluks*. The glory of this part of the mountain is the

1. The Tirunelvēli District consists of eight *taluks*: Tenkāśi, Tirunelvēli, Ambāsamudram, Nanguṇēri, Tiruccendūr, Śrīvaikuṇṭham, Kōvilpaṭṭi and Śaṅkarankōvil.

2. e.g. Ambāsamudram, Kalliḍaikkuricci, Vīravanallūr, Śermādēvi, Śrīvaikuṇṭham and Ālvār Tirunagari.

Agastya peak or *pōtikai*, 6125 feet high, which is the most striking peak in the whole range enjoying the benefits of both the monsoons. Agastyamalai is also known as *Ēka-pōtikai*. The hillock at Eruvaḍi in Nangunēri *taluk* is called *Iraṭṭai-pottai*. In Tirunelvēli, *pottai* or *porrai* indicates a hillock. The name Vālīśvaram suggests that the site was traditionally associated with Vālin, the monkey chief figuring in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Sanskritised form of Malayakōṭi or Malayakūṭa is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* as a mountain in the Pāṇḍya country and a synonym of *Pāṇḍya-kavāṭa*, referred to by Kauṭilya[3] as a source of pearls. This mountain is also referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa.[4] Hsüan Tsang mentions Mo-Lo-Ku-T'a while referring to the sandal-producing Mo-Lo-Ya mountain which is bordered by the sea, and also notices Pu-Ta-Lo-Ka[5] (Potalaka), which may well be Podiyamalai, the supposed residence of Agastya, after which a Pāṇḍya king is called *Podiya-verpāṇ*.[6]

Next to the Agastyamalai on the southern side stands the *aintalai-pōtikai* (five-headed hill). The last of the Tirunelvēli hills is Mahēndra giri in the Nangunēri *taluk*. The gneissic rock with outcrops at many places in the centre and west of the district is largely used for building purposes. Excellent fine-grained stone, which lends itself to sculpture, is obtainable at Brahmadēśam.

The forests on and around the hills contain little timber of commercial value. *Koṅgu*, which is found in the evergreen region, is perhaps the most valuable among the trees. The deciduous forests contain few species of value except as fuel. Teak is common but it seldom grows to a good size. Tea, cardamom and various fruits are successfully cultivated in the Ghats.[7]

All the rivers in the district originate in the Western Ghats and flow to the east or south-east. The Tāmraparṇī, the chief river rises in the *Periya-pōtikai* and receives rain both during the South-west and North-east monsoons. After receiving the waters of the Pēyār

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3. R.P.Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Part I, 1960, 2:11:2.
4. *Kiṣkindākāṇḍa*, 41, strophes 14-25; also *J.I.H.*, XXV, 1947, pp.263-67
5. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 1904-05, pp.228-229.
6. *Ind.Ant.*, XVIII, 1889, p.241, cf R.V. 6-I 184 v.s
7. For a general account of the forests and forest produce of Tirunelvēli the reader is referred to *Journ. Madr. Geogr. Ass.*, XV, April-June 1940, No.2, pp.104-111.

and Ultār on the east it reaches the Bāṇatīrtham precipice over which the water falls in a cascade. At the foot of the hills it is joined by the Pāmbār on the west and, one and a half miles further down, by the Kāriyār on the east. After receiving the waters of the Śērvai-āṟu on the east near Muṇḍanturai, the river reaches the barrier of the rocks at Pāpanāśam, over which again it plunges in a cascade of 300 feet known as Kalyāṇatīrtham falls. From Pāpanāśam eastwards to its mouth at Punnaikāyal, the river flows over level country for about sixty miles. The Maṇimuttār joins the Tāmraparṇī on its right bank. The Ghaṭanā *nadī*, which receives the Varāha *nadī*, the united stream of Jambū *nadī* and Rāma *nadī*, flows into the Tāmraparṇī on its left bank at Tirupparuḍaimarudūr. The other tributaries are the Kāri-*āṟu* and the Paccai-*āṟu*, which join the river on its right side. The last important tributary is Śittār (Citrā in Sanskrit), meeting the Tāmraparṇī at Śevilippēri. It rises in the hills above Kuṟṟālam and reaches the village after a succession of falls, the main ones being *Teṉṉaruvi*, the Shenbagadēvi falls and the Kuṟṟālam falls, the last a 200 feet cascade, one of the most striking features of the area. The Nambi-*āṟu* and Hanumān-*nadī* are small rivers in the Naṅgunēri *taluk*. The Śaṅkarankōvil and Kōvilpaṭṭi rivers are mostly dry. The drainage of the Tirunelvēli district is effected by the Vaippār in the north, the Tāmraparṇī in the centre and by the smaller rivers, the Nāṭṭār, the Karuṇai- *āṟu* and the Hanumān-*nadī*, in the south.

Eastwards from the Ghats the district is a continuous plain. The quartzite ridge extending almost from Uttumalai in Tenkāśi *taluk* to Talaiyūttu in Tirunelvēli *taluk* forms the watershed between the Tāmraparṇī and the Śittār.

The whole district may be divided into four natural regions:

1) The river valleys of the Tāmraparṇī and the Śittār and the regions about the upper reaches of the smaller rivers. The Tāmraparaṇī valley is rich and important. Many large villages surrounded by green fields and marked by *gōpuras* and *vimānas* are to be found at intervals along the banks of the river. Paddy is the chief crop and the irrigated tracts are the most favoured in the district.[8] Other crops of the wet land are plantains, betel, turmeric and sugar cane.

8. For an account of the methods of paddy cultivation in Tirunelvēli the reader is referred to *Journ. Madr. Geogr. Assn.*, XV, No-3, 1940, pp.260-265.

2) The dry-red region: This region rises above the river valleys and embraces a great part of Ambāsamudram, Tirunelvēli, Śaṅkarankōvil, Kōvilpaṭṭi, the greater portion of Śrīvaikuṇṭham and Naṅgunēri. These wide areas of red sandy land are dotted with numerous tanks and patches of paddy fields. There is an abundance of palmyra palms. But the land is largely waste except for the red loamy soil near Kuṭṟālam and the Ghats.

3) The *teṛi* country: The third region comprises the undulating expanse of red sand found in the southern part of the Naṅgunēri *taluk* and largely in Tiruccendūr. Dr Zeuner has shown that the microlithic industries of the *teṛi* are associable with an ancient sea level and has moderately estimated their date as prior to 4000 B.C., with the proviso that further geological research may push it back into the Pleistocene period.[9] The vast cultural material relating to the microliths of Tirunelvēli, collected after the expedition of Zeuner in 1949, are with the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, awaiting a full report.

Along the bases of these sand dunes fertile patches of land are found at intervals. The rain falling on the dunes is only partly absorbed and flows continuously into the surrounding level country. There are aslo great inland lakes called *taruvai* found in some of the deep depressions in these sand dunes.

Quite distinct from the *teris* are the dunes of white sea sand thrown up along the coast by the combined action of the surf and the south-west wind. At Manappāḍu, where the ridge is about 100 feet high, the sand has become hard enough to serve as building material. At Tiruccendūr the sea face has been transformed into a cliff 50 feet high out of which a shrine of Subrahmaṇya has been excavated. Other large sites are at Śāttankuḷam and between Eḍayaṅguḍi and the sea. Towards the eastern boundary the sand is encroaching on the cultivated land a few yards annually. It advances as a bank of fine sand, nearly perpendicular and from 10 to 50 feet high, which has overwhelmed villages. The people in this region have a tradition that some of the villages were suddenly overwhelmed. This is probably a localisation of a celebrated story of the destruction of an ancient city.

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9. F.E.Zeuner and Bridgett Allchin, 'The Microlithic Sites of Tinnevelly District, Madras State; in *A.I.*, No.12, 1956, pp.4-20; also F.E.Zenuer, *The Pleistocene period*, 1959, pp.300-312.

4) The Black cotton area: This region occupies the greater part of Kōvilpaṭṭi *taluk* and a large part of the northern half of Śrīvaikuṇṭham. The three main crops of this area are *kambu* (Millet) *cōlam* (Maize) and cotton. The two indigenous species of cotton grown are *karuṅganni* and *uppam*. Besides these, the Cambodia variety is grown where irrigation is possible.[10]

The average rainfall of the Tirunelvēli district is a little over 30 inches, the eastern part being very dry and hot while the western part has a moist climate with more rain. Three-fourths of the rain falls during the north-east monsoon when all the tanks are filled. In June and July (the first part of the south-west monsoon) places nearer the hills enjoy the *Śaral*, which is a series of slight drizzles with a consequent lowering of the temperature of the air, interspersed with short periods of mild sunshine. The hottest months of the year are April and May but the temperature is rarely above 95 in the shade, the coldest months being December and January, when the temperature seldom falls below 70.[11]

The sea-coast of about 85 miles extends along the Gulf of Mannār from Vembār in the north to a point about four miles east of Cape Comorin. The other prominent points along the coast are the rocky cape near Kuttankuḷi, a reef at Kulaśēkharapaṭṭaṇam, Alantai, Vīrapāṇḍyan-paṭṭaṇam, Kāyalpaṭṭaṇam and Punnaikāyal. Tuticorin harbour lies within a circular chain of islands and reefs formed by the Devil's point on the south, the Punnayaḍi, Cronjee and Pāṇḍyan *tīvu* (*dvīpa*) on the east and a rocky shoal on the north. An industry of great commercial and historical importance is the pearl fishery in the Gulf of Mannār.

B. The oldest centres of civilisation as revealed by archaeology.

The prehistoric settlements of Tirunelvēli district extend over the upper and lower regions of the Tāmraparṇī valley between Palamkōṭṭai and the sea, and also to the tributaries of the main river. Kuṟṟālam has yielded cinerary urns and pottery with serpent designs. These

10. *Journ. Madr. Geogr. Assn.*, XV, No.2, 1940 pp.132-151.

11. For the topography, nature and distribution of vegetation and botanical specimens in the district the reader is referred to *Records of the Botanical Survey of India*, VI, 1914, pp.105-171.

graves have been attributed to the Nāgas.[12] Twenty-five burial urns of *maḍamaḍattān-tāli*[13] type, containing bones, were unearthed at Kīḻ Āmbūr[14] in Ambāsamudram *taluk*. Sepulchral urns have also been found at Kīḻ Puliyūr, Kīḻ Nattam and Kīḻ Paṭṭam in the same *taluk*. Urns were dug up in a field three furlongs to the east of Śivaśailam.[15] A burial urn embedded in the soil, out of which a palmyra palm has grown, is seen on the banks of the Ghaṭanā flowing close to the village of Tiruvālīśvaram and on the side opposite to the Śiva temple. These remains. have as yet not been adequately studied. A systematic exploration and excavation of these areas will considerably increase our knowledge of these prehistroric remains and enable us to determine the age and stage of the art and civilisation of these settlements. In the Śaṅkarankōvil *taluk*, burial urns have been found at Śivagiri, Panaiyūr, Vāsudēvanallūr ,[16] Karavanallūr, Kāriśāttan and Ariyūr. The other sites with prehistoric remains in the district are Palamkōṭṭai,[17] Sāyamalai, Kuruvikkuḷam, Nāluvāśalkōṭṭai, Śaṅkarankōvil, Peruṅkoṭṭūr, Kuvalaikkanni, Marattōṇi, Karivalam vandanallūr,[18] Gūḍalūr, Tenmalai, Dēvikāpaṭṭaṇam, Vīraśikhāmaṇi[19] and Kulaśēkharamaṅgalam. Two other sites, one near Śulipotai in Aḍaiccāni, with associated burial urns and a megalithic stone circle, was discovered and photographed by C.R.Kṛṣṇamācārlu in 1937-38, and another at Moṭṭapottai near Kuṇṇattūr.[20] The same scholar has

12. For the typology of the prehistoric antiquities reference is made to *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, pp.67-73 and plates xxvii-xxviii; also *A.R.S.Ind. Ep*, 1936-37, p.58.

13. The local tradition behind the name is that the ancient people of the area grew shorter and shorter before their death till they suited the size of the pot to which they were finally consigned and buried. This is a case of folk lore.

14. Seven miles north-west of Ambāsamudram.

15. Ten miles from Ambāsamudram and 12 miles south-east of Tenkāśi.

16. Excavated by Cammiade. *Man*, XXX, 1930, pp.187-88.

17. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep*, 1939-43, p.3; also Appendix D, Nos.209, 1902 and 1903.

18. Six *Aurei;* the latest one of Hadrian dated A.D. 118 have been found at this site. *A.R.Madr.Govt.Mus*, 1933, p.5 *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1930-34, p.313; *A.I.*, No.2, 1946, pp.116-120 and map.

19. The Madras Museum has in its coin collection 287 coins from this site in addition to the Bōḍināyakkanūr hoard of punch-marked coins. *J.N..SI*, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1961, pp.474,476,480 and 482.

20. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep*, 1937-38, Appendix D, p.72, Nos. 1617-22, 1658-60.

also given a note on some of the prehistoric remains brought to light by Cammiade at Tenkāśi, Kīḻ Āmbūr, Kīḻakkaḍaiyam and Śivaśailam.[21]

Attention should be drawn to the six skulls along with associated antiquities and pottery unearthed at Ādiccanallūr, on the right bank of the Tāmraparṇī and the most extensive prehistoric site in South India, covering an area of 114 acres, first brought to light by Dr.Jagor of Berlin in 1867[22]. The age of Ādiccanallūr remains doubtful. There is no definite but only circumstantial evidence of dates and the data can be variously interpreted. Estimates as to the age of these skulls have ranged from four hundred to four thousand years. It seems possible that the site may have been occupied from pre-Pāṇḍya times for at least several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. Two of the skulls at Ādiccanallūr have been referred to by G.Elliot Smith[23]. One of the two skulls is proto-Australoid in type while the other resembles the Mediterranean type. The breadth of the cranium and the flattening of the occiput suggest that it may be the Maritime Armenoid type, a branch of the Alpine race, which is considered one of the constituents of the mixed race known as Dravidian. The association of two skulls so different from each other in the same burial site at Ādiccanallūr remains to be explained. It is probable that their completely different forms imply the presence of two racial stocks. One of them resembles the dolichocephalic type, which is dominant in South India, thereby suggesting that these might have been the burials of the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Tirunelvēli district. Zuckerman gives a detailed description of the Ādiccanallūr skulls and tries to explain the presence of an Australoid skull in South India[24].

Other objects discovered at Ādiccanallūr range from well made pottery to many iron implements and weapons, vessels and personal ornaments, a few gold diadems, stone beads, bones and household implements. In a number of urns mica pieces about an inch in size

21. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, p.66

22. The work of Dr. Jagor and the later explorations of M.Louis Lapiqque, along with other details of the site are given by A.Rea in *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair*, Madras, 1915.

23. *Essays on the Evolution of Man*, 1927, Second edition; also Richard Carrington, *A Million Years of Man*, 1963, pp. 164-184.

24. *The Adichanallur Skulls, B. Madr.Govt.Mus.*, II, Part I, 1930, p.8.

and husks of rice and millet were found[25]. It is interesting to note that no bronze implements were discovered. The rarity of bronze objects indicates that this metal must have been scarce and highly valued, and used only by the upper classes. It is also noteworthy that the huge funeral urns found in *tumuli* at Ādiccanallūr have yielded a few fragmentss s of conch, associated with bronze utensils, iron weapons and gold fillets, pointing to the fact that there were skilful artificers in gold, bronze and iron.

Other classes of internments,urn burials without any megalithic associations such as boundary circles, have also been found in large numbers. They are however related to the megaliths of South India, as iron implements, black and red ware and fragmentary burials are found along with them. The pottery of Ādiccanallūr is more primitive than the megalithic pottery of other sites. The diffusion of pottery typical of Southern Meglithic monuments has an important bearing on the introduction of Iron Age in South India and possibly also on the advent of the Dravidians. A small quantity of bronze ware and gold diadems[26]not found elsewhere in South India and having typological prallels in Palestine, Syria and Cyprus about 1200 B.C., have also been discovered. An outstanding find among the Early Iron Age tombs of Solomon (1200-925 B.C.) in Palestine was a three-pronged iron fork[27] similar to the one found at Ādiccanallūr[28].

The evidence from Ādiccanallūr also suggests the worship of Murugan or Vēlan, a popular deity with the Tamils, known since very early times. The god's banner depicted a cock as his emblem. Be-

25. For a description of the objects in stone, metal and other material from this site the reader is referred to *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1902-03, p.111; 1903-04, p.158 and plates. Sir Leonard Wooley who inspected the site in 1939 thought that the area was an Early Iron Age township with a cemetery to the south of it. *A.R.S. Ind.Ep*, 1939-43, p.3.

26. Gold diadems of a similar nature have been discovered at Mycenae (circa 1600 B.C.). Stuart Piggott, (Ed.), *The Dawn of Civilization*, 1961, p.218, plate70.

27. *Israel Exploration Journal*, VIII, 1958, pp.174-184. The iron fork was found in Tomb 521 at Tell Ed Duweir in a group which could be dated in early 10th century B.C. Olga Tuffnell, *LACHISH III, The Iron Age*, 1953, text p.222, plate 56:38, 40:7. The fork is now preserved at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. I am grateful to Miss Kaye Wright of the Institute for drawing my attention to this.

28. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1902-03, p.14 and figure 17.

sides the fork, iron banner bases and representations of a cock in bronze have been found at Ādiccanallūr[29]. The practice of wearing mouth pieces still maintained by devotees carrying the *kāvaḍi* (pole for carrying offerings) to the shrine of Murugan may well be a survival from prehistoric times.[30] An interesting sculpture of Hanumān carrying the *Kāvaḍi* is seen at Koṛkai[31]. The people of Ādiccanallūr cultivated rice; several bowls of earthenware with husks of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have also been discovered.

Observations at the ancient site of Kaḷugumalai were made by Cammiade in 1930.[32] The discovery of pyriform earthen pots at Ukkirankōṭṭai[33] similar to those found at other prehistoric sites of Tenkāśi and Śivaśailam make the place a very ancient settlement. Among the potsherds found in the fort area werē those with an ancient bead and wavy line ornament, also found in other sites of the district. This area when more fully explored will yield evidence of pre-christian settlements of pre-christian times. Burial urns of the *maḍamaḍattān-tāḷi* type and one which was of 11 inches circumference, with a complete set of human bones including a perfect skull, has been found at the site of Koṛkai. Regular and systematic excavation of Koṛkai, which would throw much valuable light on Dravidian culture, has not yet been attempted.

The existence of a big cave called Paratēśippudai[34] near Kuṛṛālam suggests an ancient abode of cave dwellers and later religious mendicants or nomads. This is attested by the presence of rock-hewn steps leading to it, as in the case of other caverns of Tirunelvēli district discussed below. The small undeciphered inscription in Brāhmī like characters seems to refer to Eliy or Eliya, by which perhaps is meant the chiefs of the Mūṣaka Vaṃśa, with whom Elimalai on the west coast

29. *Ibid*, p.123 and figure 4. K.De.B. Codrington has noticed bronze.

30. There is a place called Vaḷḷiyūr, eight miles south-west of Naṅgunēri, named after Vaḷḷi, the consort of Murugan. Murugankuricci in Tirunelevēli district is a popular shrine of Murugan worship. At both these shrines the pilgrims wear mouthpieces and carry *kāvaḍis*.

31. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, plate xxviii.

32. *Man*, xxx, 1930, No.137, p.187.

33. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, plate xxviii, c and d.

34. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, p.57 and plate.

has been connected[35]. The small natural cavern with Brāhmi inscriptions formed by two huge boulders one overhanging the other, lying in the middle of a hill called Pūviluḍaiyār malai at Marugāltalai, ten miles from Palamkōṭṭai deserves notice. In the right top corner of the space cut is an inscription in Brāhmī, closely resembling the script of the Aśokan edicts, but with certain special features. At the bottom left corner of the cave are seven beds which may have been meant for resting upon. The earliest Tamil literary texts are dated round about the beginning of the Christian era.The discovery of these Brāhmī inscriptions in the caves of Madurai and Tirunelvēli districts as at Ānamalai, Ariṭṭapaṭṭi, Marugāltalai and Vīraśikhāmaṇi and their decipherment, analysis and interpretation by H.Kṛṣṇa Śastri[36], K.V.Subrahmaṇya Ayyar[37] and C.Nārāyaṇa Rao[38] . raised the question of an independent Drāviḍi script. Though these inscriptions have not disclosed any king's name, their script bears a close relation to the Brāhmī script of the records found at Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Amarāvati in Āndhra Pradesh which may be dated in the first century A.D. as suggested recently by A.H.Dani[39]. The same scholar's cautious dating of the cave inscriptions of South India in the first half of the first century A.D. seems acceptable[40].

The reading of the Marugāltalai record as given by Subrahmaṇya Ayyar is *Veṇ Kōsipan kuṭupitā kāḷa kāñcaṇam. Veṇ* is taken as a territorial division, probably referring to Travancore. Another possibility is that it may stand for *Vēl* or chief, very frequently mentioned in the Saṅgam texts. *Kōsipan* is taken to be *Kāśyapa* in Sanskrit, *Kassapa* in Pāli, as a proper name. *Kuṭupitā* is interpreted as 'caused to be made'. In the compound *Kāḷa kāñcaṇam, kāḷa* is to be derived from *kalyā* or *kālya*, 'auspicious' or 'sacred', *Kāñcaṇam* meaning gold[41].

35. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep*,1929-30, part II, para 46. For a later account of the kingdom of Eli, the reader is referred to Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Sir Marco polo*,, II, 1903, pp.385-387.

36. *Proc. Tr.All.India Or.Conf*, 1922, pp.327-348.

37. *Ibid*, 1925, pp. 275-300; also *A.R.Ep*, 1915, plate I facing p.86; 1918, plate I, facing p.7.

38. *New. Ind. Ant*, I, 1938, pp.362-376.

39. *Indian Palaeography*, 1963, pp. 71-72.

40. *ibid*, pp.68-74

41. Narayana Rao's reading of the record (*Vēnākī sipāna kutupitā kāla kāncanam*, the *kālakāncanam* built by a woman follower of Buddhist *vi naya* doctrine whose personal name was Vēṇākī) is far fetched. *New. Ind. Ant, I*, 1938, p.365.

C. Some Important references to the oldest history of the area in Śaṅgam Literature, in Greek and Latin, and in Chinese works.

The early Indians were acquainted with the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī long before they knew anything of its inland course or of the falls in the mountains, and it was at the place where it joined the sea that people bathed and performed austerities, as the Gods are said to have done according to the *Mahābhārata*. Tambapanni occurs in Aśoka's rock edicts where it may, however, have indicated Ceylon. To the Greeks, who visited India the island was known as Taprobane.[42] Koṛkai at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī must have been the chief seaport. There is a tradition according to which Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya ruled together at Koṛkai as three brothers. The properties held by them in common were at Mukkāṇi, "The three Properties" near Koṛkai. They eventually separated, the Pāṇḍya remaining at home, the Cōḷa and Cēra establishing kingdom of their own to the west and north. This is probably a popular myth, but similar representation, possibly an echo of this tradition, is found in the *Harivaṃsa*[43] where Pāṇḍya, Kērala, Kōla and Cōḷa are said to be the sons of Ākrīḍa, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the Lunar line of Kṣatriyas. Kōla may probably be connected with *kōḷiyar*[44] , mentioned in the Śaṅgam texts or it could be Kōlam or Kōlattu nāḍu, described in the *Kēralamahātmyam*, a much later work. The *Puṟanāṉūṟu*[45] a Śaṅgam text possibly of the first or second century A.D., mentions the title *Koṛkai-āḷi*, given to Kulaśēkhara, the supposed founder of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. The *Śilappadikāram*, another literary text of probably the fifth century A.D. refers to Veṛrivēr Ceḷiyan as a Pāṇḍya viceroy at Koṛkai.[46] It appears that Koṛkai was the earliest home and centre of the three main ruling families of ancient South India. It may also have been the residence of the early

42. Eratosthenes quoted by Strabo XV.I.14; J.Oliver Thomson, *The History of Ancient Geography*, 1948, pp.131, 302-303.

43. M.A.Langlois, *Harivaṃsa ou Histoire de la famille de Hari*, I, 1834, p.154; M.N.Dutt, *A Prose English translation of Harivamsa*, 1897, pp.136-137

44. T.Burrow, 'Dravidian Studies', in *B.S.O.A.S*, XI, 1946, pp.122-126.

45. Edited by U.V.Sāminātha Aiyar, 1932, strophe. 183; P. Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.301.

46. Edited by U.V. Sāminātha Aiyar, *nīrppaḍaikkātai*, lines 127 ff.; also P.Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, pp.309-310.

Pāṇḍyas in the fifth century B.C., to whom the king of Tambapanni is said to have sent an embassy to negotiate a marriage alliance. The *Mahāvaṃsa*[47], while recording this incident, mentions that 'Southern Madura' was the place where the Pāṇḍyas lived and ruled at this time. This appears to be an anachronism. The existence of Korkai as the early Pāṇḍya centre may have been forgotten at the time of the composition of the *Mahāvaṃsa* in the reign of Dhātusēna in the sixth century A.D. It was the belief of the earliest Sinhalese that the Pāṇḍya kingdom was in existence long before Vijaya's supposed arrival in Ceylon and the consequent aryanisation[48] which synchronised with the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha[49].

A large quantity of conch shells was found at the site of Koṛkai, testifying to the existence of an ancient conch factory, manufacturing shell ornaments, bangles, rings and beads[50]. A valuable reference to the conch trade is contained in two Tamil verses which purport to relate a discussion between a brāhamaṇa and Nakkīrar, the celebrated poet in the reign of Neḍuñceḷiyan II,[51] who may be dated about the beginning of the second century A.D. Tarumi (Dharmi), the brāhmaṇa presented to the Śaṅgam a poem composed with the help of Śiva. Nakkīrar, the president, criticised the poem inspite of its supposedly divine origin and rejected it as unworthy of literary recognition. The brāhmaṇa presented another poem also inspired by Śiva, and in the following lines tried to ridicule the president on account of his caste:

Aṅkaṅkulaiyarivāḷi ney pūśi p-

paṅkampaṭa viranṭu-kāl parappi ccaṅkatanai

kīṛ kīṛenav-aṛukkuṅ kīranōv-aṉ kaviyai

yārāyum-uḷḷattavan

'Is Kīran fit to criticise my poem? Spreading his knees wide,

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47. VII. 49-52. Translated by W.Geiger, 1912, p.59.

48. A.L.Basham, 'Prince Vijaya and the Aryanisation of Ceyloṇ' in *C.H.J.*, I, 1952, pp.163-171.

49. B.N.Barua, 'The Year of Commencement of the Buddha Era' in *Uni.Ceyl.Rev.*, V, 1947, pp.62-76; R.Morton Smith, 'On Ancient Chronology of India (III)' in *J.A.O.S*, 78, 1958, pp.174-192.

50. *A.S.I.A.R*, 1936-37, plate xxxvii c and d; J.Hernell, *The Sacred Chank of India - A Monograph on the Indian Conch*, 1914, pp.42-47.

51. P.Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.300.

his joints loosened (by labour), does he not saw chank (conch) into sections, the ghee-smeared saw murmuring the while, *kīr-kīr?*'.

The verse contains a play on the president's name and the sound given out during the sawing of conch. The reply of Nakkīrar to this was:

Śaṅkaṟuppatēṅkaḷ kulan caṅkaranārkketu kulam

pankamar cconnāl paḷutāmē Śaṅkai

yarintuṇṭu vāḷvōmaranē nin pōla

virantuṇṭu vāḷvatillai[52]

'Chank cutting is indeed the calling of my caste. Of that I am not ashamed. But of what caste is śaṅkara? We earn our living by cutting chank. We do not live by begging as he did', (an allusion to the popular legend where Śiva manifests himself as Bhikṣāṭana).

Dharmi's description of the conch-cutter's craft is vivid; in a dozen words he gives a realistic picture of the cutter's workshop, the men seated on the ground with their knees widely spread and depressed outwards almost to the ground to give free play to the crescent-shaped two handled saw monotonously droning a single note as it cuts its way laboriously through the hard substance of the shell. Traditionally Nakkīrar, the conch-cutter was a *paravan*. At the beginning of the Christian era, conch-fishing and cutting were among the important occupations at Koṟkai.

The first centre of the Pāṇḍyas was at Koṟkai, the Colchi of the Greek writers. The dominant powers in South India in the beginning of the first century A.D. seem to have been the Pāṇḍyas, Cēras and Cōlas. Strabo[53] mentions an embassy from King Pandion to Augustus in 20 B.C. Pliny[54] the *Periplus*[55] and Ptolemy[56] all agree in their accounts of

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52. These two verses in *Veṇbā* metre are cited by J.Hornell in *The Sacred Chank of India, A monograph on the Indian Conch*, 1914, pp.43-44. Hornell does not mention the source where these verses are found.

53. XV.4 and 73; J.W.Mcrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 1901 pp.9 and 77. For a ꜱ special account of this embassy the reader is referred to *J.R.A.S.*, 1860 pp.309-321.

54. VI.23. Edited by H. Rackham, 1942, pp.391-99.

55. W.H.Schoff, *The Periplus of Erythrean Sea*, 1912, pp.44-46.

56. VII. J.W.Mccrindle, *Ancient-India as described by Ptolemy*, 1885, pp.53-69; R.C.Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, 1960, pp.364-67.

the prosperous trade of the seaports. The trade was largely in pearls, gems and spices. The main highway across South India over which the goods for the western trade were brought was Accankōvil pass and the terminus of this trade route was the port at Becare, mentioned by most of the Greek writers. Becare is probably identifiable as Porakāḍu in the land of the Pandion. It should be noted that Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṃśa*[57] refers to Uragapura as town belonging to the Pāṇḍyas.

The pearl fishery at Koṛkai was according to the *Periplus*[58], worked by the convicted criminals of the Pāṇḍyas in the first century A.D. Ptolemy mentions the emporium at Kolkhoi where pearl diving was practised. Ptolemy's knowledge of India was derived from Greek sources, which were mostly contemporaneous. He may have consulted the *Periplus* in addition to the itineraries of the Greek merchants, who had visited the interior of India. He had also opportunities to supplement his sources by oral information at Alexandria. The knowledge thus gained was deficient and his conclusions were bound to be often inaccurate[59].The trade in pearls for the Roman market was very extensive, with the port of Kolkhoi serving as a primary depot[60] Claudius Aelianus, who settled in Rome and taught rhetoric in the time of Hadrian gives an account of the techniques of pearl fishing in his work *On the Peculiarities of Animals, xv.8* (circa second to third century A.D.)[61]. The *Maduraikkāñci*[62] a Tamil literary text composed between the third and sixth centuries A.D.mentions the *Paravas* and the pricless pearls for which they dived.

An important product of the Koṛkai coast is the conch (śaṅku) which is valued as a sacred and musical instrument in Hindu ceremonies. Shell artefacts of a great age in the ruins of Ur, Kish and Lagash were made from the porcelain-like snow-white shell of the sa-

57. Edited by M.R.Kale, 1922, sarga VI, strophes 59-60.

58. W.H.Schoff, *The Periplus of Erythrean Sea*, 1921, p.46.

59. J.Ph.Vogel, 'Ptolemy's Topography of India-His Sources' in *Archaeologica Orientalia*, 1952, pp.226-234.

60. E.H.Warmington, *The Commerce between India and the Roman Empire*, 1928, pp.167-168.

61. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, 1939, p.6.

62. Edited with a commentary by P.V.Sōmasundaram, 1956, pp.5,58, lines 140-144; translation by J.V.Chelliah, 1946, p.172; also P.Meile in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.300.

cred Indian *Śaṅkha* known scientifically as Xancus (Turbinella) Pyrum (L). This large conch is found only in the coastal waters of South India and Ceylon, its main habitat being the sands between and around the rock-strewn pearl banks of the Gulf of Mannār. The presence of articles made from conch is positive proof of commercial intercourse with South India[63]. The conch industry at Koṛkai was the earliest to be established, the most productive conch factory in India being located immediately off this part of the coast. Koṛkai flourished from an indeterminate date before the Christian era down to about 1000 A.D., when the accretion of silt in the delta of the Tāmraparṇī necessitated the building of a new city, Kāyal, further downstream at the new mouth of the river. Hornell discovered a series of conch workshop waste at a site adjacent to the spot where Pāṇḍyan coins had been found from time to time as erosion exposed the underlying deposits. All the fragments bear signs of having been cut by means of a thin-bladed saw, striae run across the clearly cut surfaces. The majority are obliquely cut 'shoulder pieces', others being columellae broken free and the rest lip fragments[64].

Early Tamil literary texts refer to Neḍuntērceḷiyan also known as Neḍuñceḷiyan, the conqueror of Kūḍal. Kūḍal near Madurai may then have been under Akutai, a king mentioned in the *Puṛanāṇūṛu*[65], a Saṅgam text of the first-second century A.D. This identification could be confirmed with the help of the reference of Paraṇar in *Akaṇāṇuṛu*[66] and those in *Kuruntokai*[67], both Sangam texts of the first or second centuries A.D. The capture of Kūḍal by the Pāṇḍya king of Korkai is again alluded to in the *Akanāṇuṛu*[68]. A port and the Pāṇḍya capital Madurai are noted by Pliny.

There is another more servicable port, belonging to the Neaeyndil tribe called Porakad: this is where king Pandion reigned, his capital being so far in the interior a long way from the port, called Madura;

63. *Antiquity*, 1941, pp.239-240, 246-256; 1942, p.132.
64. *Antiquity*, 1942, pp.127-128.
65. Edited by U.V.Sāminaātha Aiyar, 1932, p.463, strophe 347.
66. Edited by N.M.Venkaṭasāmi Nāṭṭar, 1949 p.181, strophe 76.
67. Edited by U.V.Sāminātha Aiyar, 1947, p 610, strophe 298.
68. Strophes 27, 201, and 296.

while the port from which pepper is conveyed to Becare in canoes made of hollowed tree trunks is called Cottonara![69]

From all the available historical evidence, it may be concluded that Korkai was an ancient seaport from early times (at least in the first century A.D.). Kātyāyana, who explained the aphorisms of Pāṇini, mentions the countries of the extreme south; Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kērala. Baudhāyana[70] refers to the practice of cross-cousin marriages in South India. Baudhāyana's notice belongs to a period a little later than 400-300 B.C. This may probably be the starting point for the continuous movement of the Āryans to South India. This āryanisation of the South may have provided the historical basis for the Agastya legends which figure prominently in the Epics and the Purāṇas as well as in early Tamil literature.

Agastya is mentioned in *Paripaṭal*,[71] a Tamil collection of a stratum of Sangam literature later than *Pattupāṭṭu*[72] and *Puṟanānūru*, texts of the second to fourth century A.D. and in early Pāṇḍya copper-plate inscriptions[73] as the *purōhita* of the Pāṇḍyas. There are many places connected with Agastya in South India[74] There are several Agastya temples along the Tāmraparṇī. On a rocky wall above the Kalyāṇatīrtham falls is a sculpture of Agastya standing before Śiva and Pārvati as Kalyāṇasundara in worshipful *Abhimāna*. Six miles further down there are two more temples of Agastya at Ambāsamudram and Kalliḍaikkuricci, where the weaving cummunities of the two towns specially worship him. At Kalliḍaikkuricci, Agastya is associated

69. *Natural History*, edited and translated by B.Rackham, Book VI, 1947, pp. 418-419. Rackham's translation identifies Becare as Porakad. Also E.M.Warmington, *The Commerce between India and the Roman Empire* 1928, p.167.

70. *Baudhayana Dharmasutra*, edited by L.Śrīnivāsācārya, 1907, pp.7-8.

71. strophe 11; K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, 'Agastya' in *Tijdschr.Bat.Gen*, LXXVI, 1936, pp.471-545; P.Thieme, 'Agastya and Lopāmudrà in *Z.D.M.G.* 113, 1963, pp. 69-79.

72. Translated into English verse by J.V.Chelliah, 1946.

73. Larger Sinnamanur Plates,, Strophe 3, in *S.I.I*, III, 1929, p.451; Vēlvikkuḍi plates, strophes 2-3 in *Ep.Ind.*, XVII, 1925-26, p.298; Madras Museum Plates, strophe 4 in *Ind.Ant*, XXII, 1893, p.70.

74. Agastyampaḷḷi in Tanjore, Agastyamalai same as Podiyamalai and Agastīsvaram near the sea, three and a half miles from Cape Comorin. For a discussion of these see *J.I.H. XXXVI*, 1958, pp.1-8.

with Kārttikēya, who is there considered his *guru*[75]. The sage is also worshipped by seafarers[76]. The *Kumāratantra*[77] mentions him as one of the *parivāra-dēvatas*. The *Aṃśumadbhēdāgama* and *Pūrvakaraṇāgama*[78] include him in the list of *saptarṣi* with Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Gotama, Angiras, Viśvāmitra and Bhāradvāja. The legend of the three Śaṅgaṁ narrated in the *Iraiyanār akapporuḷ urai*[79] counts Agastya with Śiva and Subrahmaṇya among the members of the first Śaṅgam, which is said to have lasted for 4440 years. Tṛṇavindu-maharṣi also seems to have been his associate.[80] There is a sculpture of Tṛṇavindu in the Museum at Jakarta. There is another group at Tjandi Redjo, Java, where two small figures of Tṛṇavindu and Marīci in ascetic robes are found on either side of a figure of another *ṛsi*. In a cave at Gunung Kombeng well away from the confluence of Pantun with Kedang Rantau, in Kutai, East Borneo, a group of Śaiva sculputres of Śiva, Ganēśa, a *rsi*, Nandīśvara, Mahākāla, Kārttikēya and Brahma has been found[81]. They may have been placed in the niches of one or more temples in the area.

Chinese texts such as the *Sung-ṣhi* and *Ma Twan-Lin*[82] of the tenth to the twelfth centuries A.D. record fairly full details of the political missions of the Cōḷa empire to China. The first mission to

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75. *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen*, LXXVI, 1936, p.545.

76. F.H.Gravely and T.N.Ramachandran, *Catalogue of South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Museum, B.Madr.Govt.Mus*, II, 1932, p.16.

77. T.A.Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, part II, 1916, p.423; J.Filliozat, *Le Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa*, 1937.

78. T.A.Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, p.567, Appendix B, pp.277-278.

79. The end of the eighth century A.D. is the earliest period to which the urai may be assigned. P.Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, pp.306-307.

80. J.L.A.Brandes, *Arehaeologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura, II-Tjandi Singasari*, 1909, plates 79 and 80; Jessy Blom, *Antiquities of Singasari*, 1939, pp.12, 90-91 and 144; V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāna*, 1933, pp.31-33.

81. B.Ch. Chabbra, 'Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava rule' in *J.A.S.B.*, I, 1935, pp.31-33.

82. Ssu-Yu Tang and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, 1950, pp.150-151.

reach China from the Cōḷa country was that of A.D.1015[83]. The thirteenth century Chinese author Chau-Ju-Kua gives useful information about the technique of pearl fishing.

'Whenever pearls are fished for they make use of thirty or forty boats, with crews of several dozens of men (to each). Pearlfishers, with ropes fastened around their bodies, their ears and noses stopped with yellow wax, are let down into the water about 200 or 300 feet or more, the ropes being fastened on board. When a man makes a sign by shaking the rope, he is pulled up. Before this is done, however, a soft quilt is made as hot as possible in the boiling water, in order to throw over the diver the moment he comes out, lest he should be seized with a fit of ague and die.'[84]

D.Some important Archaeological Monuments of the area dated between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D.

At Vāḍikōṭṭai, near Aḷagāpuri, seven miles north of Śaṅkarankōvil there is a small rock-cut temple nine feet square and six feet high excavated out of the base of the hill. Two life-size *dvārapālaka* bas-reliefs guard the entrance and unlike the similar temples at Vīraśikhāmaṇi and Tirumalāpuram discussed below, the shrine does not contain a rock-cut *liṅga* or any other sculpture or bas-relief on the hind wall of the *garbhagṛha*. At Malayaḍikuricci, twelve miles north of Śaṅkarankōvil an early Pāṇḍya cave temple bearing a contemporaneous foundation inscription in *vaṭṭeḷuttu*, has been discovered. The inscription is dated in the seventeenth regnal year of Māran Śēndan and records the excavation of the cave temple dedicated to Śiva. Palaeographically the inscription may be assigned to the seventh century A.D., making it the earliest known of Pāṇḍya inscriptions.[85] The other Pāṇḍya rock-cut cave temples in the Tirunelvēli district are: 1) Pēccippārai, Cokkampaṭṭi, with two *dvārapālaka* figures on either side of the shrine entrance. 2) Sēndamaram cave temple and the sculpture of Nandi at the foot of the Vīraśikhamani hill.[86] In this cave temple there is sculpture of a *ṛṣi* whose figure except for the face is worn out. The

83. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan,* 1939, pp.25-26.

84. Chau-Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, translated and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W.W.Rockhill, 1911, pp.229-230.

85. *Indian Archaelogy, A Review,* 1958-59, p.82; 1959-60, p.58

86. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1935-36, plate xxviii.

face is serene, showing the devotion with which the sculptor fashioned the sage in an area where Agastya is worshipped as a great benefactor. 3) Tirumalāpuram, four miles east of Kaḍayanallūr: This cave temple faces north and has two pillars and pilasters. The pillars have lotus designs and are cubical and octogonal in the middle sections. The corbels (*pōtika*) are ornamented with *taraṅga* with a median band and *patralatā* designs. On the eastern wall facing the west is a panel with the sculpture of Brahma. The southern wall has three panels divided by two pilasters. The panel on the extreme left has the sculpture of Naṭarāja dancing between two *gaṇa* in worshipping posture. The third panel has a beautiful sculpture of Gaṇēśa.[87] 4) The cave temple at Kuṛukkutturai, near Tirunelvēli, and 5) The sand stone excavation of the shrine of Subrahmaṇya near the sea shore at Tiruccendūr also deserve notice.

The only known Pāṇḍya monolith at Kaḷugumalai, though unfinished, is a very interesting example from the point of view of its architecture and very fine sculpture. It appears to be somewhat later than the two Pallava monoliths known as Dharmarāja *ratha* and Arjuna *ratha* at Māmallapuram and a little later than, if not co-eval with, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monolith, the Kailāsanātha at Ellōra. It is a typical *dvitaḷa vimāna, samacaturaśra* in plan with an *astāśra śikhara*. The Kalugumalai monolith definitely marks a very important stage in the development of the South Indian *vimāna* in so far as it shows for the first time the disposition of the various deities in definite places appropriate to them a feature which forms the norm of *vimānas* of subsequent periods.[88]

Ukkirankōṭṭai; 14 miles north-west of Tirunelvēli is an important site of the historical period. Sewell[89] mentions a fort with some connection with Ugra[90] Pāṇḍya, which seems no more extant. There is an ancient temple of Cokkanāyaki Amman with sculptural stone

87. For a detailed description the reader is referred to *J.I.S.O.A.*, IV, 1936, pp.65-71, and plates.

88. C.Sivaramurthi has published a short monograph on *Kaḷugumalai and Early Pāṇḍya Rock Cut Shrines*, 1961. The Temple Survey Project of the Archaeological Survey of India have completed a survey of Pāṇḍya cave temples and their results are awaited.

89. *List of Antiquities*, I, 1882, p.311.

90. For an admirable elucidation of the concept of Ugra in Ancient India the reader is referred to J.Gonda, *Ancient Indian ojas, Latin augos and Indo-European names in -es/-os*, 1952, pp.6-9, 13-15, 20-21,25,30,36.

eaves and friezes and fragments of *vatteluttu* inscriptions which may be assigned to the ninth or tenth centuries A.D. on palaeographic grounds[91]. There are some early images of Viṣṇu in *sukhāsana* and a *saptamātṛkā* group lying scattered in the *prākāra*. These finds confirm the connection of the place with the early Pāṇḍyas. The *vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription of Ṡaḍaiyamāran, who is to be identified with Rājasiṃha III, is dated in year 13 opposite the 2nd (i.e. the 15th year) and refers to donations made to a temple (*vaikartanālaya*) of Ādityabhaṭāra, testifying to the existence of a Sūrya temple there in the tenth century A.D.[92] The place itself is called Karavandapuram in its inscriptions with its surname Kaḷakkuḍi. The fort associated with Ukkiran or Ugra may owe its origin to the early Pāṇḍya king Ugra otherwise known as Ukkiraperuvaḷudi in the *Puṛaṇāṇūṛu*[93] or to Ugra Pāṇḍya, the prince whom Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Ṡaḍaiyan (A.D.900) held as prisoner in the Battle of Kharagiri. The Madras Museum plates of Neḍuñceḷiyan[94] make it clear that he built a fort with a broad stone ditch and a lofty wall. Karavandapuram may have been a local capital with a primitive fortification during the reign of Ukkiraperuvaḷudi and it seems to have been developed into an impenetrable fort and stronghold by Neḍuñceḷiyan in about A.D.785. It was temporarily in the possession of Ugra Pāṇḍya a century later, and thus acquired the name which has survived to the present. That the fortification was of extensive dimensions can be made out from the fact that the temple of Ādityabhaṭāra, which is described in the inscriptions of Ṡaḍaiyamāran as being situated in Kīḻ vāy or Eastern Gateway, apparently of the fortified village, is half a mile distant from the Cokkanāyaki Amman shrine, which as implied by the name *vaḍavāy naṅgai* must have been located in the Northern Gateway. The shrines of Cokknāyaki and Āditya were located in the appropriate direction of east and north in conformity with the rule prescribed by

91. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep,* 1935-36, Nos.194-204.

92. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 1934-35, (1939), pp.285-286.

93. Strophes 21 and 367. A later version of the birth of Ukkira Pāṇḍya and his activities as represented in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* paintings in the Mīnākṣi Sundareśvara temple at Madurai is given in R. Dessigane, P.Z. Pattabhiramin et J.Filliozat, *La Legend des Jeux de Civa a Madurai d' apres les textes et les peintures,* 1960, fascicule pp.18 ff; fascicule 2, planche ix et x.

94. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 1893, p.74.

the *Arthaśāstra*[95] and the *Āgamās*[96] that the shrine of cardinal deities should be erected in the appropriate cardinal points inside a fort. From the other inscriptions there it is learnt that there were two Śiva temples called Arikēsarivarman and Rājaśiṅgīśvaram[97] in the vicinity though not inside the fort itself, and named as such after the Pāṇḍya kings Arikēsari and Rājasiṃha.

The Śiva temple at Tiruvālīśvaram is a *samacaturaśra dvitaḷa vimāna* with an *aṣṭāśra* śikhara in the Drāviḍa style of architecture, closely resembling the Vālīśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram, datable to the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. In its iconographic contents the Tiruvālīśvaram temple is a veritable museum of superb early Cōḷa sculpture. In the niches of the *pañjaras* of its *vimāna* and the recesses between them in the *taḷas*, there are sculptures of Śiva in his various forms. On the Southern side there is Naṭarāja, in the centre, with Vṛṣabhāruḍha and Gaṅgādhara on the left and Vīrabhadra and Dēvi on the right. The western side has Liṅgōdbhava with Viṣṇu and Brahmā on either side of the centre, Kālaharamūrti and Kirātamūrti on the left and Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Umāsahita on the right. On the southern side there is also a representation of Ardhanārī in *tribhaṅga* pose resting on *nandi* which is a vigorous representation, its features being rugged as compared to the Ardhanārī figures on the Dharmarāja *ratha* at Māmallapuram and the one on the Nāgēśvara shrine at Kumbhakōṇam. The northern side of the *vimāna* has bas-reliefs of Gajasaṃhāramūrti in the centre, Caṇḍēśānugraha and Sukhāsanamūrti on the right and Sōmāskanda on the left. There is also a sculpure of Indra on *Airāvata*. In the lower storey, the following sculptures are found:

1. Kaṅkālamūrti, accompanied by Pārvati and a *gaṇa*;
2. Vyākhyā Dakṣiṇāmūrti;
3. Liṅgōdbhava;
4. Tripurāntaka, which is a splendid representation. The pose of the sculpture recalls the Rāma and Tripurāntaka figures of the

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95. R.P.Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, part I, 1960, p.29.

96. *Uttarakāmikāgama, patala* 61; N.V.Mallayya, *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to Tantrasamuccaya*, 1949. p.113; Marīci, *Vaikhānasāgama*, edited by K.Sāmbaśiva Śāstri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No.CXXI, 1935, *paṭala* 201.

97. For Rājasiṃha Īśvaram.

Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore and the Śiva temple at Māyavaram. This appears to have been a favourite theme of the Cōḷa artists. It is vividly represented in the paintings of the Tanjore temple.

The *vyāḷa* frieze on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple consists of the full figures of the animal and not just the bust alone as in the many other early Cōḷa temples such as the Koraṅganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr and Mūvarkōvil at Koḍumbālur. The *gaṇa* frieze below the *kapōta* is very well composed showing the figures in different dance poses, some having comic features such as lion or monkey faces with pot bellies and the whole scene of dancing, mockery and music is very humorously portrayed. The entire *kapōta* is elaborately embellished by designs of foliage and creepers (*patralatā*) as are the intervening spaces between the *kūḍu*, highly ornate arches surrounded by *siṃhamukha*.

The first *taḷa* of the *vimāna* has the series of fine sculptures described already, which are of the greatest interest for the iconographic development of the period. The eastern side of the first *taḷa* is hidden by a brick terrace put up in modern times over the *ardha-maṇḍapa*. The second *taḷa* reproduces on a reduced scale the ornamental features of the exterior of the *garbhagṛha*, including the friezes of *gaṇas* and *vyāḷas*. Above the second *taḷa* are four recumbent bulls, life-like, placed one at each corner, facing outwards. From the centre, rises an octagonal *bhitti* (wall)-like *grīva*, supporting dome-like *aṣṭāśra* above. The *grīva* has niches on the cardinal points having the sculptures of Vyākhyā Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Yōga Narasiṃha, Brahmā and Indra on the south, west, north and east respectively, appropriately and in conformity with the rules prescribed by the *Āgamas* and *Śilpaśāstras*. Over the highly ornate *śikhara* are the *mahāpadma* and *paṭṭika* with the *stūpi* above. A close study of the architectural and iconographic features of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple reveals affinities with the earlier Pallava temples at Panamalai and the group of structural temples at Kāñcīpuram. The nucleus of the temple itself may date from early Cōḷa period prior to Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1016), though the *garbhagṛha* does not have inscriptions earlier than the period of Rājarāja. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine is co-eval with it, but the *mahā-maṇḍapa* was a later addition probably in the reign of Rājēndra I, while the shrine of the goddess Saundaryanāyaki and that of Subrahmaṇya are still later. The frieze of animals in high relief, the stone construction from base to finial (*upānādistūpiparyantam*) and the simple *śālā* are very early features of the architectural style.

The other small and notable temples of the period of Rājarāja are the Uttara Kailāsa at Tiruvadi, Tanjore district, the Vaidyanātha at Tirumūlavāḍi, Trichinopoly district, the twin temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu at Dādāpuram, South Arcot district, the temple at Madagadipattu[98] 15 miles to the west of Pondichery and the Śiva Devale No.2 at Polonnaruva, Ceylon, but none of these approach Tiruvālīśvaram in sculpture.

The Tiruvālīśvarm temple complex has fifty-three inscriptions of the Cōḷas, their viceroys cum subordinates the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas, and the Pāṇḍyas, ranging in date between the tenth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The texts of these records have not been published so far except for very brief summaries in the Annual Reports[99] of the Epigraphy Branch of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India. They throw a good deal of valuable light on social, economic, political and cultural life of South India during this period and are indispensable for a study of the development and growth of the Tamil language, script and grammar of the period. In working out the present thesis, these inscriptions, which are critically edited with transcriptions and translations, besides several others, were a principal source. Between the third century B.C. and A.D. 1300, more than 75000 records in Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Sanskrit and Malayāḷam are preserved, furnishing the researcher with a mine of information on the lives and times of the inhabitants of South India, with a fullness unequalled in Southern Asia. Regrettably, all the texts of these have not been published fully and, of the published ones, the greater part has inadequate editorial comment. The collection in the volumes of Annual Reports on Epigraphy, South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphia India, Epigraphia Carnatica, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Mysore Archaeological Reports, Travancore Archaeological Series, Inscriptions of Pudukkōṭṭai State, South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Hyderabad Archaeological Series do, however, provide part of the extant material in transliteration and in some cases translations with very helpful notes and comments. The majority of the material as yet remains unpublished though it is hoped that the huge

98. P.Z.Pattabhiramin, *Temple de madagadipattou, (985-1014 A.D.)*, 1951.

99. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos.115-120; 1916, Nos.327-372. The Tamil texts of eight of these inscriptions are included in *S.I.I*, XIV, *The Pāṇḍyas*, 1962, Nos.141, 160, 161, 170, 187, 196, 220 and 239.

and unexplored mass will soon be availabe in print to facilitate the production of a full-scale work on the history of South India.

Accuracy of readings is very important for this work and was secured by a constant reference to the original estampages of these inscriptions, which were very generously made available for this study by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, South India.

The archaeological evidence bearing on the subject of our study is very extensive. Not much help is derived from numismatics; only a few gold coins of the Pāṇḍyas bearing the figures of fish characteristic of the dynasty are known.[100] But Roman coins of Hadrian and others have been found in Tirunelvēli district and other parts of South India, with an abundance of copper issues of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.[101] The majority of the medieval Pāṇḍya coins reveal the influence of the Cōḷa conquest by the presence of a figure of a tiger and of Ceylonese influence by the presence of a human figure, standing on the obverse and seated on the reverse.[102] These Ceylonese types date from about the eleventh century A.D. and came into use in the Tamil area, at the time when the Cōla-Pāṇḍyas were masters of the whole of it.[103]

The value of indigenous literature, and that of a few professedly historical texts of a contemporary nature, has generally been underrated. We have sometimes to rely on casual references to historical events in literary texts of a general nature and also to wade through a large mass of legend in search of historical facts. The local legends centering round Tiruvālīśvaram exist in a version of *sthalapurāna* known as *Tiruvālīśvarasthalapurāṇa*, the earliest incidents referred to in it being datable to about the ninth century. The legends centering round Madurai are extant in three versions, of which the earliest dates from the ninth or the tenth century A.D., the *Tiruvilaiyāḍal Purāṇam*, compiled by Perumbārṟupuliyūr Nambi, the other versions being very much later work of Paranjōtimunivar and the *Hālāsyamāhātmya*. The set list of kings furnished by the two later versions are of little value or use for historical purposes. The earliest version contains very help-

100. Sir Walter Eliot, *Coins of Southern India*, 1886, p.121.

101. *A.I.*, No.2, 1946, pp.116-125 and map.

102. Sir Walter Eliot, *Coins of Southern India*, 1886, p.108.

103. *Ibid*, p.109; also A.K.Narain, 'Numismatics and Historical Writings' in *Historians of India, Paksitan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H.Philips, 1961, pp.94-101; for ideas of history in coins.

ful hints of great significance. The life of Māṇikkavāsagar is dealt with to explain the occa sions on which he sang particular hymns of the *Tiruvācagam*. These local *purāṇas* are well supplemented by references in religious texts like the *Periyapurāṇam*, with the often direct and illuminating information on historical persons and events furnished by Appar, Sundarar and Jñānasambandhar, the poets and saints of the *Tēvaram* and *Tiruvāymoli* which are of inestimable value.

The Śaṅgam texts such as the *Paripāṭal, Kuruntokai, Padiṛṛupattu, Akanānūru, Puṛanāṇūru, Śilappadikāram, Maduraikkāñci* and *Iṛaiyanār Akapporul urai*, which form a class by themselves, furnish valuable information. These await scientific and systematic treatment for historical purpose. Only during the last half century, have these been edited from the available rare manuscripts, by the laborious and careful work of scholars U.V. Sāminātha Aiyar, V.Kanakasabhai Pillai, N.M.Veṅkaṭasāmi Nāṭṭār, P. Sōmasundaram and institutions as Śaiva Siddhānta Kazhagam, Tirunelvēli. Much of this is still untranslated and the full and thorough study of the Śaṅgam texts from the critical and historical point of view has yet to be made. The cautious dating of these works by P.Meile[104] has been followed here.

The *Yāpparuṅgaḷam*,[105] Tamil metrical work of the eleventh century A.D., by Amṛtasāgara and the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*,[106] by Jayaṅgoṇḍar which may also be assigned to the same period, from an analysis of its contents especially the Kaliṅga expedition may be placed between A.D.1089 and A.D.1110[107]. Jayaṅgoṇḍar may have composed the poem soon after this date. The opening verses invoke the gods for the longevity of Kulōttuṅga and this clearly indicates that the poem was composed during the life time of the king. It is interesting to find that Bilhaṇa composed the *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* in honor of Vikramāditya VI, about the same period. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* furnishes useful

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104. P.Meile, in *L'Indie Classique*, II 1953, pp.297-314; also A.L.Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1956, pp.461-476; K.K.Pillay, 'Historical ideas in Early Tamil Literature' in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H.Philips, 1961, pp.66-71.

105. L.Renou, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.105; also text edited by S.Bhavānandam Pillai, 2 volumes, 1916-17.

106. V. Kanakasabha Pillai. 'Tamil Historical Texts, No.2., The Kaliṅgattuparaṇi' in *Ind. Ant*, XIX, 1890, pp.329-345, 15, also text edited by A.Gōpāla Iyer, 1924.

107. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*[2], 1955, pp.320-323.

information on the history of Tamil literature, while alluding to the *Paṭṭinappālai*[108] composed in praise of Karikāla and the *Kalavaḷi*[109] composed by Poykai, giving a vivid description of the battlefield where Kōccenkaṇṇan was victorious over Kaṇaikkā Irumporai, the Cēra king.

The references furnished by foreign literary sources, Greek and Roman writers such as Magasthenes, Pliny, Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* and the records of Hsuan Tsang have all been critically studied and utilised in relation to their intrinsic values. The *Mahāvaṃsa* contains several references to the affairs of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms but these have been used very cautiously as the chronology of events narrated in the *Mahāvaṃsa* rests on insecure foundations. *Chu-fan-chi*, a thirteenth century Chinese work, and the records of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, are of some help for later Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya history.

This brief review of the sources indicates that there is a large mass of material requiring critical discussion and study. Although a beginning has been made on this during the last two centuries[110] much more work remains to be done. The following chapters are intended as a contribution to this task.

108. Edited with a commentary by P.V.Sōmasundram, 1956.

109. V.Kanakasabhai Pillai, 'Tamil Historical Texts No.1. 'in *Ind. Ant*, XVIII, 1889, pp.258-265.

110. The work of earlier scholars in this field is listed in the bibilography.

2

Early History of the Area as revealed by Inscriptions

Tiruvālīśvaram temple passed through successive stages of development to culminate in the reigns of the Cōḷas under Rājarāja I and Rājēndra, their viceroys the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas,namely Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1021-1051), Māṛavarman Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1051), Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and Parākrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and the Pāṇḍyas Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha (A.D. 1080-1100), Māṛavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1180), Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (A. D. 1190-1216), Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1215-1236) and Jaṭāvarma Vīra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1253). The foundation of the temple itself may date back to the early Cōḷa period before the time of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1016) although the *garbhagṛha* does not have inscriptions earlier than the period of Rājarāja I. It is to be noted that none of the *Tēvāram* hymns refer directly to this temple or its diety but they allude to it in relation to the Kuṛṛālam and Ambāsamudram temples in the area.

The Tiruvālīśvaram temple complex has in all fifty-three inscriptions belonging to the above mentioned dynasties. The earliest inscriptions on the walls of the *garbhagṛha* are those of Rājarāja I. One, in *vaṭṭeḷuttu*, is dated in the eleventh year (A.D. 996) of Rājakēsarivarman. It records a gift of land to the deity Tiruvālīśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār [1]. The village is called Rājarājacaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi-nāḍu[2]. A similar inscription of the eleventh year is engraved

1. The deity of the temple at Turaiyūr, Trichinopoly district, was also known as Tiruvālīśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār. *A.R.Ep.*, 1909, No. 701.
2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos. 119 and 116.

on the north wall of the *garbhagṛha.* This relates to a gift of land[3]. The use of *vaṭṭeḷuttu* in these records is noteworthy. Other records of Rājarāja dated in the tenth and eleventh years of his reign in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram[4] are important in so far they show that the Cōḷa occupation of the Pāṇḍya country took place either before or early in the reign of Rājarāja. The reason for the omission of the conquest in inscriptions dated before the fourteenth year of his reign is not apparent. In the Tirupparuḍaimarudūr inscription of Rājarāja the names of the signatories are engraved in *vaṭṭeḷuttu* though the usual script employed is Tamil. The inscriptions of Parāntaka (A.D. 907-955) and Rājarāja I at Sucīndram, Śermādēvi and other sites in the Pāṇḍya country are in Tamil script. The Śermādēvi inscription of Rājēndra[5] dated in his third year is in *vaṭṭeḷuttu* while that at Mannārkōyil[6], dated in his twenty-fourth year, is engraved in Tamil. The Tamil script may have been introduced for engraving inscriptions in the Pāṇḍya country during the period of Jñānasambandhar and Appar or during a later Cōḷa occupation. The use of Tamil script is not necessarily a result of occupation by the Cōḷas. It may be due to cultural influence. The change however, seems to have been during the reign of Rājarāja I but *vaṭṭeḷuttu* continued to be used during the period of Rājēndra and was probably replaced by Tamil later.

Two *vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscriptions dated in the eighteenth year from Tiruvālīśvaram do not refer to any king's reign but record an agreement among the members of the *mahāsabhā* of the village of Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi-nāḍu[7]. The records are assigned to the period of Rājarāja on palaeographic grounds.

Next in chronological order is the important Tamil inscription engraved on a pillar set up near the *bali-pīṭha* of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple[8]. It is unique in so far as it outlines the military history of a regiment called the *Mūṇṛukai mahāsēnai.* It is undated, and mentions the various victories gained by the Cola army especially the *Mūṇṛukai mahāsēnai.* Further it records that the temple at Tiruvālīśvaram, its

3. *Ibid.*, No. 116. Text and transcription in Chapter V.
4. *Ibid.*, Nos.123, 124, 119 and 120.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, V, 1898-99, p.47.
6. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No.112.
7. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos. 117-118.
8. *Ibid.*, No.120. Text and transcription in Chapter V.

treasury and temple servants were placed under the protection of this regiment. On the basis of the text and palaeography of this record there seems to be no doubt that the inscription has to be assigned to the period of Rājarāja and Rājēndra. It depicts the *mahāsēnai* as constant worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu and records their exploits in defeating the Kannara and pursuing him, killing the Gāṅgēya, capturing Kalmāḍam and destroying Vilinjam by the sea, then crossing the sea on the eastern side and razing Mātōṭṭam (Mahatitha in Ceylon) to the ground, before taking the hill country (Malaināḍu) and routing the fleet *(kalamaṛuttu)* at śālai and finally making the Vallān(Cāḷukya) flee and capturing Vanavāsi. The record further mentions that the Tamil poet of Kālahasti praised the regiment for its heroism by composing songs eulogising its achievements. The regiment is also credited with the capture and destruction of Uccandi (Uccangidurg) on the hill of Kucci and with a victory over the Vaḍukar and dismantling the fortress at Vātāpi. Other feats are mentioned which, on account of a gap in the record, are not easy to follow. The regiment is described as residing in Pāṇḍya-nāḍu, and comprising the dauntless soldiers of the great army of three arms. The regiment also took under its eternal protection, the Tiruvālīśvaram temple and all its belongings (*dēvadānaṅgaḷum śrī-bhaṇḍāramum*) including its priests and servants (*śivabrāhmaṇarum taccar kollar tiruvēḷaikkārarum*). It is clear that the campaigns in which the regiment claims to have participated with such glory were those of the reigns of Rājarāja and Rājēndra[9].

The Śermādēvi inscription dated A.D. 1096[10] proclaims the ideals of heroism of the *Mūṉṟukai mahāsēnai* and refers to the protection given to the temple by this division by taking over its properties. Here the group is called 'the several thousands of the great army of three arms'. The Kālahasti inscription of Rājēndra I[11] mentions the various divisions of the king's army such as *śiṟutanattu - ediriliśōḷatteṟinda valaṅgai vēḷaikkārar, śiṟutanattu iḷaiyarāja uttamaśōḷatterinda valaṅgai vēlaikkārar and śirutanattu śōḷaśikhāmaṇitterinda valaṇgai vēḷaikkārar.* No literary work glorifying the achievements of the army has yet been found.

9. A detailed discussion of these campaigns is given by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in *The Colas*[2], 1955, pp.169-183, 197-223.

10. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, no. 753. Also *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 334-335.

11. *A.R.Ep.*, 1904, No. 286.

The Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya kings, figuring in the Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions seem to have ruled for a period of scarcely half a century from A.D. 1021, when the first king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa - Pāṇḍya, the son of Rājēndra I was installed. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[12] refer to the appointment in the following strophe:

Tatra pratiṣṭhāpya tadīyarāṣṭra-rakṣārtham-ātmīya-tanūjam-ēnaṃ |

Śrī Cōla-Pāṇḍyaṃ ravi-vaṃsa-dīpō jētuṃ pratīcīndiśam-ujjagāma ||

The conquest over Kerala is referred to in another strophe[13].

Śrī Cōla-Pāṇḍyaṃ svasutaṃ vidhāya pāścātya- bhūmēr-abhirak-ṣaṇāya |

Kāncīṃ sa kāncīm-iva bhūmidēvyāḥ samāviśat taila-kulaika-kālaḥ||

The existence of inscriptions of Cōḷa emperors of the period side by side with the inscriptions of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas in the Pāṇḍya country clearly indicates that the central control was regular and vigorous. The Pāṇḍya kings, however, made common cause against the Cōḷas by aligning themselves with the rulers of Ceylon. It is difficult to give a correct account of the intricate military and political transactions of these two powers, referred to in the *Cūlavaṃsa* and in the inscriptions of the Cōḷas. Dr. W.M.K. Wijetunga has recently examined these and other related problems[14], in his thesis on 'The Rise and Decline of Cōḷa Power in Ceylon'. The chief reasons for adopting the form of government with Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroys must lie in these political alliances between the disposessed families of the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese kings and also in the wide extent of the Cōḷa territory after the extensive conquests of Rājēndra. Rājēndra seems not to have discovered till the tenth year of his reign that certain special arrangements were necessary for holding the Pāṇḍya country. The Pāṇḍyas derived their strength from the long tradition of their rule and from the political alliances with the kings of Ceylon. It is remarkable that they were able to bring about the decline of the Cōḷa power in spite of the determination of the Cōḷas to exterminate them. This Viceregal system, finding suitable occupations for the restless princes of royal blood, allayed their discontent and directed their energies from intrigues and revolutions. It simultaneously brought new strength to

12. *S.I.I., III, 1929, p. 399 strophe 93.*
13. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, p.399, strophe 99.
14. University of London, Unpublished Thesis, Ph.D.1962.

the administration of an overgrown empire faced with many domestic and foreign problems. The addition of the suffix Pāṇḍya to the Cōḷa prince's name was possibly made to reconcile the people to the new ruler. The title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya may also indicate the double status of the princes in so far as they were members of the Cōḷa family and were made to rule over the Pāṇḍya country. They were viceroys acting under the orders of the Cōḷa sovereign appointed mainly because the Pāṇḍyas could never completely be subdued[15].

Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions range in date between the fourth and thirtieth years of his reign[16]. The Mannārkōyil inscription of Rājēndra I[17] dated in his twenty-fourth year issued by the king from his palace at Kāncīpuram, recording a gift of land to the temple of Gōpālasvāmin, helps in fixing the date of accession of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1020-21. The gift was to be effective from the fifteenth year of Sundara Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya, who is referred to as one of Rājēndra's sons. His fifteenth year was to coincide with the twenty-fourth year of Rājēndra. There is also the confirmatory evidence of another inscription from Mannārkōyil which refers to Rājēndra dēva and his son (*nam piḷḷai*) Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[18].

K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar [19] attributes to Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya the inscriptions of Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from Sucindram and Śevelippēri.[20] This is doubtful as the name Sundara is omitted in both cases and the palaeography of the inscriptions point to a later date. This conclusion has been arrived at after an examination and analysis of the texts and fascimilies of all the known inscriptions of these two rulers. Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's last known date is his thirtieth year

15. Reference may be made to the defeat of the Pāṇḍyas by Parāntaka no less than three times. Sundara Cōḷa claims to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest. Aditya II vigorously fought Vīra Pāṇḍya. Uttama Cōḷa's title Madurāntaka clearly indicates hostility with Pāṇḍyas. Rājarāja is known to have defeated Amarabhujaṅga. Rājēndra, Rājādhirāja and Vīrarājēndra again claim victories over the Pāṇḍyas.

16. A chronological but imcomplete list of his inscriptions is given along with their Tamil texts in *S.I.I.* XIV, 1962, Nos.131-170.

17. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 112.

18. *S.I.T.I.*, II 1954, p. 784, No. 830.

19. *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, p.293.

20. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 195.

as gleaned from his Attur inscription[21]. It is possible that Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya may have been entrusted with the Pāṇḍya and Kērala territories by A.D. 1016-17, four years prior to his regular accession, though probably not formally installed. In Rājēndra's inscriptions there is no reference to his conquest of the Pāṇḍya country till his fourteenth year but his victories over Kērala are referred to in inscriptions of his fifth and sixth years[22]. The mention of Cēra feudatories Rājasiṁha and Rājarāja further confirm this. There is no means of ascertaining the identity of the two defeated kings.

The earliest inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya so far known is dated in his fourth regnal year and refers to a gift of land to Rājēndra Cōḷa *viṇṇagaram* (Viṣṇu- gṛham) at Mannārkōyil by the *sabhā* of Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadāya* in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi- nāḍu for the settlement of temple servants. It also refers to Muṭikoṇḍaśōḷapuram as the other name of Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṇgalam and also to the tenancies of *yiruppu* (general term for settlement or residence) and *kuśavan parivāram* (potters colony)[23]. Next in chronologic order are four inscriptions of the king, two in Tamil script from Ambāsamudram[24] and Āttūr[25] and two in *vaṭṭeḻuttu* script from Cēramaṅgalam and Pārthivaśēkharapuram, all dated in his sixth regnal year. The Ambāsamudram record is incomplete mentioning only Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam in Muḷḷi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Muṭikoṇḍaśōla vaḷanāḍu in Rāja rāja-ppāṇḍi-nāḍu. The Āttūr inscription records a gift of two buffaloes by a *veḷḷāla* of the village for a *nontā* viḷakku[26] to the Sōmanāthēśvara temple. While most of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions are in Tamil script there are several in *vaṭṭeḻuttu* found in the Cēra country and on the borders between the traditional Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam and Cēra-maṇḍalam. The Cēramaṅgalam epigraph refers to an agreement given to the *sabhā* of Cēramaṅgalam by Manrāḍi Iraiyan Accan to stand as surety (*puṇai paḍuvēn*) for

21. *Ibid.*, No. 167.

22. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos. 111,113 and 114.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 107. Text in *S.I.T.I.*, II. 1954, p. 787, No. 837.

24. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.134.

25. *Ibid.*, No.135.

26. The form *tiru nonta-viḷakku* (a sacred lamp which is never trimmed) seems to have developed from *tiri-nundā-viḷakku* (a lamp, the wick of which is never trimmed because ghee is continually supplied to it) *Nondā-viḷakku* or *nandā viḷakku* are corruptions of *nundā-viḷakku*.

the *irai* (tax) due from Āyiradēva in case he left the village (maṇṟu māri pōkil)[27]. The Pārthivaśēkharapuram inscription, dated in his sixth year, provided for a perpetual lamp and for the sumptuous food to a brāhmaṇa in the temple every day[28]. The serivce was to be conducted in the name of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa (*Śrī Kaṅgaikoṇḍa śōḷan tirunāmattāl*), who was his father Rājēndra I.

Another *vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from Vīraśikhāmaṇi[29] is dated in his eighth year and records the gift of a lamp. His Sucīndram record in Tamil script, dated in his ninth year refers to the local commander in chief *(ivvūr padaittalaivan)* Tiṟuveṅkaṭa Eṭṭi who agreed to maintain perpetual lamps in the temple with 3/8 measure of ghee daily from the thirty-eight cows donated by Kalanivenni otherwise known as Madurāntaka-ppēraraiyan, of Koṭṭār or Mummuḍi-śōḷanallūr. The lamps were to be maintained in the temple of Tiruveṅkaṭatt-āḷvār in Sucīndram also known as Sundara Cōla-caturvēdimaṅgalam in Nāñjil-nāḍu. This is incidentally the earliest mention of Sucīndram as a *caturvē*di maṅgalam[30]. *Caturvēdimaṅgalam*is a group of villages with several brāhmaṇa settlements representing each of the four Vēdas. The constitution and formation of *Caturvēdimaṅgalam* is discussed in detail in the chapter on Administration.

The permanent residence of the military commander Tiruveṅkaṭa Eṭṭi, stationed for the enforcement of peace and order in the locality, is interesting. The name of the royal person and the palaeography of the Sucīndram record confirm that the inscriprion was issued by Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. It may be noted that Madurāntaka-ppēraraiyan, the name of the donor, was one of the well known epithets of Rājēndra I. The name ending *eṭṭi* seems to be derived from Sanskrit śrēṣṭhin / šeṭṭi / eṭṭi [31].

Three of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Śermādēvi, Vijayanārāyaṇam and Kanyākumārī were issued in the tenth year. The Sermadevi record[32] is incomplete but mentions the deity Cōḷēndra-

27. *Trav. Arch. Ser*, V, 1926, pp.29-30.
28. *Ibid.*, VI, 1927-28, Appendix A.
29. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 136.
30. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp. 134-35 and plate.
31. T. Burrow, 'Dravidian Studies' in *B.S.O.A.S.*, XII, 1947, p. 132.
32. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, no.137.

siṃhēśvara muḍaiyār. The village Vijayanarayanam is referred to as Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa - *caturvēdimaṅgalam* in Uttamaśōla vaḷanāḍu[33]. The name Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa - *caturvēdimaṅgalam* may have been given after Rājēndra as inscriptions of Rājarāja[34] from the same place do not give it this name. The division Uttamaśoḷa vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja pāṇḍi-nāḍu is also not referred to in Rājarāja's inscriptions which clearly indicates that the geographical division for administrative purpose was effected after the establishment of the Cōḷas in this part of the empire through the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas. The Kanyākumārī inscription[35] mentions Periyāḷ Saṅgam of Araiyapaḷuvūr in Uttuṅgaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu as a palace servant (akaparivārattupeṇṭātti) of Mukkōkiḷānaḍigaḷ, the queen of Rājēndra. A gift of fifty sheep for a lamp in the temple of Kanyābhaṭārī at Kumari, in Puṛattāyanāḍu, a sub division of Uttamaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu, is recorded in the inscription.

The only copper-plate charter of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas so far known is that of Jaṭāvaman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya dated in his tenth year. The plates consisting of three groups, each of a different size were discovered at Pāṇḍavarmaṅgalam, Kōvilpaṭṭi taluk, Tirunelveli district and are now preserved at the Government Museum, Madras. The record refers to Pāṇḍamaṅgalam otherwise known as Pancavanmādēvi-*caturvēdimaṅgalam* in Veṇbaikkuḍi nāḍu and also to a list of brāhmaṇa donees[36]. Other details of the grant cannot be determined as the plates are corroded and the layer of metal has peeled off at many places. The letters are made up of closely engraved dots.

The earliest of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Tiruvālīśvaram is dated in his eleventh year. It is incomplete but records the gift of a lamp by Brahmakuṭṭan. This lamp was to be maintained with one *uḷakku* of ghee daily from the twenty-five cows taken over by Kāri Śēndan[37]. There are six other inscriptions of the king all dated in eleventh regnal year, five of them from Cōḷapuram and the sixth in vaṭṭeḷuttu script recording a gift of a lamp from Ādanūr[38]. In one of the Cōḷapuram inscriptions Calukki Vijayādityan Vikki Aṇṇan,

33. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, No.5. Another fragmentary inscription below this mentions the year 14. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.139.
34. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, Nos. 2, 6-8
35. *Trav. Arch. Ser*, VI, 1927-28, pp. 150-151, No.III.
36. *A.R. Ind. Ep.*, 1958-59, A-No. 13.
37. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 141.
38. *Ibid.*, no. 142.

otherwise known as Viṣṇuvardhana mahārāja, figures as a donor of twenty-five cows for a perpetual lamp to the deity at Tirukoṭṭār also known as Mummuḍisōḷanallūr in Nāñjil-nāḍu[39].

The donor appears to have been a Cāḷukya king. The ruler of Vēṅgī during the period of the inscription was Rājarājanarēndra except from A.D. 1031-35 when Vijāyaditya reigned[40]. It is, however, noteworthy that an eastern Cāḷukya ruler should have come so far south and made a donation to the Śiva temple. The earliest Cōḷa king to interfere in the politics of the Eastern Cāḷukya country was Rājarāja. His capture of Vēṇgī in his fourteenth year (A.D. 1000)[41], resulted in placing Śaktivarman or Cāḷukyacandra in power within a year[42]. This is evident from the Raṇastampūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, the son and successor of Śaktivarman, which places the coronation of Vimalāditya on Thursday, May 10, A.D. 1011, and mentions that Śaktivarman ruled for twelve years before him[43]. Vimalāditya's son Rājarāja had his consecration on Thursday August 16, A.D. 1022 according to the Korumelli plates[44]; and he is said to have ruled for forty-one years in the Teki plates[45]. There seems to have been some confusion and domestic trouble in the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom about A.D. 1029-30, twelve years after the accession of Rājarāja. His stepfather Vijayāditya had ousted him and crowned himself in A.D. 1030 according to a grant dated in the second regnal year of Vijayāditya[46]. There have been attempts to emphasize that after a first futile usurpation (A.D. 1030-32) Vijayāditya left Vēṅgī and sought service under, and support from, the Western Cāḷukya ruler Somēśvara[47]. The Cōḷapuram inscription

39. *Trav. Arch.Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p. 8 and plate.

40. According to Nilakanta Sastri in G. Yazdani, *The Early History of Deccan*, II, 1960, Vimalāditya - A.D. 1011-18: Viiavaditva - 1018-22; Rājarāja - 1022-31; Vijayāditya - 1031-35; Rājarāja - 1035-61. .

41. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No. 739.

42. *Ep. Ind, XXI, 1931-32, p.31.*

43. Ibid., VI, 1900-01, pp. 349-351.

44. *Ind.Ant.*, XIV, 1885, p.50.

45. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 1900-01, p.336.

46. 'The Pamulavāka Plates of Vijayaditya' in *J.A.H.R.S.*, II, 1927-28, pp.277-289. Also K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cola*², 1955, pp.286-88, 298.

47. *J.A.H.R.S.* I 1926-27, p.215, strophes 206-208. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī*, 1951, pp.250-255.

of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya dated in his eleventh year (A.D. 1032-33) mentioning Calukki Vijayādityan Vikki Aṇṇan as a donor shows that he was in the extreme southern limit of Cōḷa- maṇḍalam making a gift to the temple at Koṭṭār in Travancore. This trip was perhaps undertaken to enlist Cōḷa support aimed at gaining and maintaining cordial relationship with the Cōḷas and their viceroys the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas. The gift could not have been made *in absentia* and it is more likely that Vijayāditya was present at Koṭṭār, the political situation at Vēṅgī being disturbed.

Another citizen Śoṭṭaiyan, brother of Perumānaḍi, Cāmiṇḍan of Kuḍagu nāḍu in Gaṅgai-maṇḍalam an agent of Yamunāditya, provided for food offerings in the temple at Brahmapuram, ten miles from Cōḷapuram. The mention of Paṭṭaṇadēśappulavan, a poet, is interesting, but his identity cannot be established owing to lack of more evidence. Koṭṭār otherwise known as Mummuḍiśōḷanallūr, was so called after one of the numerous surnames of Rājarāja I. The village was in the division of Nāñjil nāḍu. Nāñjil means a plough[48] and this designation of the tract of the country is very appropriate, since South Travancore (the present Kerala) is predominantly a land of extensive paddy fields. The division Nāñjil nāḍu formed part of a bigger unit Uttamaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu which extended from Cape Comorin on one side to Śermādevī on the other and consisted of many subdivisions called Marugal nāḍu, Puṟattāya nāḍu, Kuru nāḍu and Nāñjil nādu. This vaḷanāḍu again formed part of Rājarāja-ppāṇḍi-nāḍu, the name given to the districts of Ramnad, Madurai, Tirunelveli, Pudukōṭṭai and South Travancore, after the southern conquests of Rājarāja.

A noble under Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya named Dēvan Viccātiran (Vidyādhara) Śōḷamārāyan made a gift of fifty sheep for the provisions of lamps in the temple at Cōḷapuram in the eleventh year [49] of the king. Another officer Ādityan Raṇaśingan Vīra-pāṇḍya-ppallavaraiyan of Koḍuṇkuḷam in Rājarāja-ttenṇāḍu, figures in another record of the king dated in the same year[50]. Candraśēkhara bhaṭṭa of Tāmattūr, a hamlet of Aḍavalla-caturvēdimaṅgalam in Kīḷ-Śembiya nāḍu also makes a gift of a lamp to the deity at Cōḷapuram in the eleventh

48. *Qu. Journ.Myth.Soc.*, XI, 1946, p.76.
49. *Trav.Arch.Ser.* VI, 1927-28, p. 9, No.5.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 10, No.6.

year of the king[51]. The term *Āḍavallān* is a Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit Nataraja. It is interesting to find a bas-relief of Naṭarāja on the southern side of the first *tala* of the *vimāna* of the Tiruvālīśvaram Temple. There is also a bronze image of Naṭarāja in the temple.

An inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya [52] from Cōḷapuram dated in his eleventh year gives important information about the sale of land communally owned (*podu-nilam*) by the sabha of Śrīvalluva caturvēdimaṅgalam in Nāṭṭaṟṟu-pōkku[53], a division of Uttamaśōḷa valanāḍu to the *dēvarkanmi* of the temple at Koṭṭār. The details of the land sold were: Leaving aside 1/16 *mā* of land lying to the north of Kuvānai *ēri*, Kamban Pāṇḍan *kumili* and the irrigation channel called Tirunārāyaṇa-*vāykkāl*, 1/8 *mā* of land lies under the first sluice and 1/8 *mā* of land under the second sluice to the north of Tirunārāyaṇa vāykkāl making a total of $\frac{1}{4}$ *mā* of land. The northern boundary of the land sold was to the south of the channel flowing towards the east and the eastern boundary lay to the west of the Ūrppādikkal (the stone demarcating the limits of the village). The record further refers to the condition for the payment of certain taxes like *iṟai, karāṇmai* and also refers to the grain measure, *Gaṅgaikoṇḍān*.

The Ambalanāthēśwara temple inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya is dated in his twelfth year. It refers to five prominent śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple namely Mādēvan Bhavāgraṇī, Vāsudēva Śrikaṇṭha bhaṭṭa, Nakkavidāna bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan Orriyūrkāman and Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Aḍigaḷ, who received thirty-six *kāśu* from Śrīkaṇṭha Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa in return for maintaining a perpetual lamp with one *uḷakku* of ghee daily in the temple out of the interest accruing from the amount (*poliyūṭṭāka*). It further mentions a fine of three *kāśu* and one *uḷakku* of ghee daily for the lamp in case of default[54]. The *akanāḷikai* śivabrāhmaṇas were those whose duties were inside the *garbhagṛha* of the temple.

The Ambāsamudram inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya dated in his thirteenth year (A.D. 1033) refers to the temple of Tiruccālaitturai āḻvār and the local administrative and trading organisation *nānādēśitti-*

51. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p. 11, No.7.

52. *Ibid.*, No. 8.

53. Also referred to in the Vijayanārāyaṇam Inscription of the king. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.139.

54. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No. 757. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.621.

śai āyirattaiñ ñūṟṟuvar of Rājēndracōḷa - maṇḍalam[55]. The *nānādēśitti-śai āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar* was an age-long institution associated with the practical administration of the country which acted as a check on royal absolutsm[56]. Nilakanta Sastri interprets the passage 'nānādēśittiśai āyirattaiññūṟuvarku ciṟapāka Tiruccālaitturai āḻvār kōyililē' in the text of the inscription as meaning : 'In the temple of the āḻvār of Tiruccālaituṟai, for the spiritual good of the five hundred of thousand directions of several dēsas' and takes this to be a body of five hundred instead of one thousand five hundred[57]. This is unwarranted as the body of One thousand five hundred is an organisation to be distinguished from the body of five hundred mentioned in the inscription of Lobu Tuwa in Sumatra dated Śaka 1010, *i.e.* in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I [58]. The inscription of Rājādhirāja cited by Sastri definitely refers only to the body of One thousand Five hundred (*nāåku tiśai āyirattainnūṟṟuva perunāḍu*)[59] A detailed discussion of this is given in the chapter on Administration.

A gift of fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity at Kanyākumārī was made by a resident of Karuṅguḷa nāḍu in the thirteenth regnal year of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[60]. The Śiva Temple at Perundurai was constructed during the reign of the king and the deity named Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Iśvaram-uḍaiyār. A gift of 2 *mā* 1 *kāṇi* and 1 *Muntirikai* of land was endowed by Kōn Māyan, a resident of Perundurai in Kāṇa nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājēndra Cōḷa vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja ppāṇḍi-nāḍu[61]. The Cōḷa practice of renaming places after royal personages and details about sale of dry land to the temple of Rājēndra Cōḷa *viṣṇagaram* by the *sabhā* of Rājarāja - caturvēdimaṅgalam are revealed by the Mannārkōyil inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya[62].

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55. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 146. The date is wrongly given as year 15 in introduction but in the text it is printed as year 13.
56. T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 1956, p. 21.
57. *Tijdschr. Bat.Gen*, LXXII, 1932, pp. 314-327.
58. *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 1934, pp.614-618: *J.R.A.S*, 1913, p.339; Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Kiersonese*, 1961, p.203.
59. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.342.
60. *Trav. Arch. Ser*, VI, 1927-28, p.151, No.112.
61. *Inser. Pud. State, 1929, p.134, No.242.*
62. *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911.

Śēralan Mādēviyār Adicci, the queen of the Cēra king Rāśingadēvar (Rājasimha), figures in the inscription dated in the fourteenth year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya as a donor of Sixteen cows for a lamp in the temple built by Rājasimha[63]. Another record of the king is interesting in so far as it cites the fourteenth year and three hundred and twentieth day[64]. The next year, a gift of land was made by the king for the *tirumeykāppu* (ritual) in the temple of Nigarili-cōḷa viṇṇagar-āḻvār at Śermādēvi[65]. The Tiruvālīśvaram inscription[66] dated in his seventeenth regnal year is a very important historical document giving abundant and adequate details of land revenue administration and information about his offcials. The record refers to a gift of five *vēli* of land by purchase to the temple from the *Sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam for conducting festivals, for providing food to twenty-five brāhmaṇas and for the recitation of the *Śivadharma*, The income from the land included paddy given by the cultivator as owner's share and money by way of *uruvukōl kaśu* and *kākṣi-erudu-kāśu*, The five *vēli* of land were converted into *veḷḷān-vagai* (ryotwari) and were required to pay as land tax (*iṛai-kaḍan*) 642 *kalam* 6 *kuruṇi* 2½ *nāli* and 2½ *śeviḍu* of paddy as measured by the *nārāyam* (a measure of 5 *nāḷi*) in addition to money, 35¼ and 3/80 *kāśu*, as *uruvukōl nilan-kāśu* and 5 *kāśu*, as *kākṣi-erudu-kāśu*. Another inscription dated in the king's seventeenth year from Śermādēvi[67] is supplementary to this inscription. It refers to similar items of income under the heads of *aḷagerudu-kākṣi-kāśu*, *kākṣi-erudu-kāśu* and *ūr-kaḷañju*. The order transferring the land from the *brahmadēya* register to the *dēvadāna* register as recorded in the Tiruvālīśvaram inscription was communicated after the document was signed by the principal revenue officers of the king.

During the reign of Rājēndra I, the *veḷḷān-vagai* villages fell into two broad classes, one directly remitting the variable annual revenue to the state, the other paying dues of a more or less fixed character to the religious institutions like temples to which they were assigned. It is difficult to determine which of these benefited the cultivator. The

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63. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.150. The Cēra king Rājarājadēva is referred to in an inscription of the king dated in the sixteenth year. *S.I.I.* XIV, 1962, No.154.

64. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.152.

65. *Ibid.*, No.153.

66. *Ibid.*, No.160.

67. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.619.

Tiruvālīśvaram inscription[68] dated in the seventeenth year and day was issued from Siddharkūḍam situated in the king's pleasure garden called *Puttan* laid out in the nothern side of Madurai. The boundaries of the five *vēli* of land were; western, the limit of the lower bank of the *vāykkāl* to the east, northern, to the north of Vāsudēva *vāykkāl* and to the south of the first sluice *(kaṇṇāṟu)* and to the west of the river Kaṭinjai, and southern, to the north of Vāsudēva *Vāykkāl.*

A gift of sixty sheep for burning perpetual lamps in the temples of Tiruppōttuḍaiyār and Tiruccālaiturai situated in the southern half of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam was made during the eighteenth year of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[69]. There are two other fragmentary records dated in the same year in the Kanyābhagavatī temple at Kanyākumkaārī.[70]. Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya seems to have had the surname Mānavīra Parāntaka, as is known from his inscriptions at Śermādēvi[71] dated in his nineteenth year which records an order of the revenue officers (*puṟavu-vari tiṇaikaḷattār* and *varippotagam-uḍaiyar*) to the effect that, as ten persons who had the *kāṇi* of two *vēli* of land at Kallūr under the name of Śivapādaśēkharanallūr had relinquished them in favour of the *dēvakanmis*, these temple servants could henceforth cultivate the land. The Cēramaṅgalam record dated in the king's nineteenth year refers to a gift of a zinc lamp-stand by Tiruvēṟṟai-ccēvakan Māyilaṭṭi, the younger brother of Kaḷanivenni[72].

A woman ascetic (*peṇ-tavasi*), Nārpatteṇṇāyira Maralidēvi, who was probably a princess, figures in another epigraph of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya issued in the nineteenth year, as a donor of twelve cows for a perpetual lamp to the deity at koṭṭār[73]. Sūryan Rājasiṃha and Sūryan Rājamalla undertook to maintain the lamp. The reference to the woman ascetic is interesting in so far as it indicates that in the eleventh century A.D. women were not debarred from the ascetic life or from propagating a particular form of faith. The Kuḍumiyāmalai

68. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.161.
69. *ibid.*, No. 162
70. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p.151 *n.*
71. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.164.
72. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, V, 1926, pp.29-30.
73. *Ibid.*, VI, 1927-28, p.73 and plate. The literal meaning of the term *Marali* or *Māṟṟaḷi* is 'One whose fineness is never destroyed'.

inscription of Vira Pandya[74] mentions a *nārpatteṇṇāviravan matha* attached to the temple there. This *matha* probably had 48,000 devotees. Yet another inscription from Tiruvēṭpur[75] refers to the deity *nārpatteṇṇāyira viṇṇagara emperumān* of Tiruveṅgavāyil. Maralidēvi seems to have been a special member of this religious group.

A *vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription of the twentieth year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya's reign from Tiruvitānkōḍ mentions a *veḷḷāḷa* of Tirukaṇṇankōḍu making a gift of twenty *kaḷañju* of gold of nine *māttu* of fineness *(onpatu maṭtu ppon)*as tested by the *niṛai-kallu* for the expenses of a sacred lamp to be put up in the temple[76]. It also refers to the chief officer of the temple (*muduvāl*). The rate of interest as worked out from this record for twenty*kaḷañju*of gold was one *uḷakku* of ghee per day. The expression *onpatu māttu ppon* is of interest in recalling the committee of nine members, chosen for testing the fineness of gold current in the village of Uttaramēru - caturvēdimaṅgalam in A.D. 922 during the time of Parāntaka[77], as revealed by his Uttaramallūr inscription. The following procedure is laid down in the inscription for the choice of the committee. The residents of the *māḍa-vīti* (the street with big mansions) should write on palm-leaf the names of such persons as were capable of testing gold from among the rate payers of their quarter and were neither too old nor too young. The names so entered should be put in pots and from them four persons were to be chosen from this quarter. Two from the army and three others from the śaṅkarappāṇḍiyar were also to be chosen. The nine persons so selected were impartially to test the gold by using the touch stone. They were to hand over daily the wax which was used without misappropriating any cut gold to the great men of the tank committee (*ērivāriya perumakkaḷ*) and once in three years were to appear before the great men of the Annual committee and make a declaration to the effect that if they had acted to the contarary, they should incur the curse of living with hunger. The inscription also seems to suggest that these nine persons were to receive individually 7 1/2 *mañjāḍi* of gold each month, probably as remuneration for their work.

A Sanskrit verse speaking of the methods of testing the intrinsic value of a man and gold may be found interesting in this connection:

74. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, No.366.

75. *Ibid.*, No.371.

76. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, p.140.

77. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1933-34, p.149.

Yathā caturbhiḥ kanakaṃ parīkṣyatē
Nigharṣaṇa-cchēdana tāpa-tāḍanaiḥ |
tathā caturbhiḥ puruṣaḥ parīkṣyatē
Śrutēna śīlēna kulēna karmaṇā||[78]

The first half of the verse gives the different methods of testing gold by pounding or rubbing, melting and beating suggesting that gold had to be purified before minting.

Mārṛu is the term used in inscriptions for indicating the fineness of gold. The degree of fineness is referred to in the inscriptions of the period as $7\frac{1}{8}$, $8\frac{1}{2}$, 9 and $9\frac{3}{4}$ *mārṛu*[79]. A surpassing degree of fineness is meant when the term *mārṛili-śempon* or *kaśunirai-pon* is employed[80]. Jñanasambandhar's reference to God as gold whose fineness cannot be judged (*mārṛaṛiyāda*) in the *Tēvāram* is noteworthy. The gold pieces were weighed by the standard weight stones of the locality, the *niṛai-kal* in the case of Tiruvālīśvaram. They are sometimes designated as Āḍavallān and Viḍēlviḍugu,[81] which was the surname of Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅga Pallava. The standard weight was probably named after one of them. *Kaḷañju* was the unit of weight of gold. It is equated with *kṛṣṇa-kāca* in an inscription of Māṛañjaḍaiyan from Tirupattūr.[82] The etymological origin, however, is uncertain. *Kaḷañju* may be derived from *kaṛanju* (molucca bean). The weight of a *kaḷañju* seems to have been the same as that of molucca bean[83]. *Kaḷañju* was divided into twenty *mañjāḍi* and each *mañjāḍi* into two *kuṇṛi*. *Dināra* and *tiramam* are frequently referred to in Tamil inscriptions. An early Pāṇḍya inscription of Māṛanjaḍaiyan from Tiruppputtūr[84] records a gift of ten *dināra* or *kāśu* by a brāhmaṇī named Paṭṭā for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tiruttaḷīśvara. The name of the Greek *drachma* is referred to as *tiramam* in Tamil records[85]. An old *kāśu* which was higher in value fetched $1\frac{1}{2}$ *tiramam* as interest and

78. *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, 8th edition by Nārāyan Rām Āchārya, 1952, p.175.
79. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, Nos.298, 885 and 1413; VII, 1933, Nos.147&486.
80. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.646.
81. *Ibid.*, VII, 1933, Nos.924-926. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, No.141.
82. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.5.
83. C.Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p.3
84. *A.R.Ep.*, 1908, No.136.
85. *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, part II, para.33.

the latter, probably debased *kāśu* only fetched a quarter or one-eighths of a *tiramam*[86] If the value of the *tiramam* had remained the same these examples could be relied upon to emphasise that *tiramam* was a smaller unit of reckoning. There is, however, no means of judging the connection between the original *drachma* and the later *tiramam*. The *Śōḷiyar nar-paḷaṅkāśu* (the old good coin of the Cōḷas) was in use during the time of Jaṭāvarman Sundra Pāṇḍya[87].

A Tamil inscription of Sundra Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya on the west wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple, dated in his twenty-first year, mentions Bhaktargaḷ Paṇḍāram, one of the palace women (*peṇḍāṭṭi*) of the house called Ulakuṭaiya pirāṭṭiyār vēḷam which may well have been the household of his queen. It also refers to the commander in chief (*paḍaittalaivan*) Nāśakan kūḷvāṇai. A gift of ten cows was made by the queen for a perpetual lamp with one *uḷakku* of ghee to the deity at Tiruvālīśvaram[88]. Another *vaṭṭeḷuttu* record dated in his twenty-first year from Gaṅgaikoṇḍān in Tirunelvēli district records a gift of land[89]. A provision for a perpetual lamp was made by Bhāradvājan Lōkāditya Kūttan of Āṟṟūr in the twenty-first regnal year of the king[90]. The lamp was to be maintained in the Sōmasundari Amman shrine in the temple of Sōmanāthēśvara. The only noteworthy fact is that after the time of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya a number of villages including Āṟṟūr seem to have been regrouped under the name of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam. Only one inscription of the king is known to have been issued and this, in the twenty-second year from Aḷagarkōyil[91] registering a gift of a lamp-stand by Śōlaisēndapirāṭṭi, wife of Kāśyapan Nārāyaṇan of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya caturvēdimaṅgalam in Karunilakkuḍi nāḍu.

Ādanūr in the Tirunelvēli district is stated to be situated in Śuraṅguḍi nāḍu, a subdivision of Muṭikoṇḍaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja ppāṇḍi-nāḍu in a *vaṭṭeluttu* inscription of the king issued in his

86. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.40 in the time of Rājādhirāja. *S.I.I.* 1923, No.183 in the time of Kulōttuṅga.

87. *A.R.Ind.Ep.*, 1954-55, No.413.

88. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.170. It should be noted that Ulakuṭaiyāḷ was also the name of Rājēndra's queen. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.623.

89. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.726, Two other records from Ānamalai refer to gifts of lamps *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, Nos.168 and 169.

90. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.172.

91. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1941-42, No.4.

twenty-third year[92]. Another record of the same date and script from Kaḷugumalai refers to the sale of three *mā* of land by the residents of Peruneccuram to the merchant Kāḷiyan Ambalam of Rājacūḷāmaṇipuram situated in Cennimaṅgala-kūṟṟam, a sub division of Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu in Cōḷa-maṇḍalam. The boundaries of the land sold are stated to be to the south of the boundary of the land called *Kaṇṇikucci-vayal*, and the well in between this and the southern boundary of the tank called Śāttan *ēri*. Along with the land, the trees that stood on the site with other extant tanks, walls and stones were also given. The record also enumerates a gift of 31 sheep left in the hands of Iḍaiyan Śāttan otherwise known as Iraṇaśiṅga Vīra Śeṭṭi, who was to maintain perpetual lamps with five *nāli* of ghee. Among the signatories of the grant were Śiṅgavara eṭṭi, Ūrkaṇakku Nakkan, Śēndan Pūtan, Ēnādi Nāraṇan, Veḷḷari of Peruneccuran, Iḍaiya Śēndan and Vīra Śeṭṭi[93].

The Kuṟumbur inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, engraved on the Adinārāyaṇa shrine, mentions the fact that he was the son of Śeṇṇi Rājēndra Cōḷa and records the construction of the temple with all its adjuncts and the consecration of the image of Viṣṇu with his two consorts and another of Mārkaṇḍēya. It deals also with an endowment of land by Kōdai Uttaman and his son Uttaman Appi who had purchased the land from the members of the local assembly (*ūrār*)[94]. The temple of Ādinārāyaṇa seems to have been founded in the tenth century but is now in ruins. The image of Ādinārāyaṇa in the central shrine is made of mortar and is represented in *Sukhāsana* with two dēvī figures, attended on either side by a kneeling figure of a bearded *ṛṣi*.

The last regnal year known for Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya is his thirtieth, as testified by the Āttūr inscription referring to a gift by one of the soldiers of the king's regiment called the Sundara Cōḷa- Pāṇḍya-tteṛinda Vēḷār[95]. Other fragmentary records of the king without citing any reg-

92. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.174. There is another inscription dated in the same year at Sermādēvi citing Rājēndra's *praśasti* beginning with 'Tirumaṇṇi vaḷara'.

93. *S.I.I.*, V. 1926, No.30.

94. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1940-41, No.277. There is another incomplete record dated in his twenty-third year at Kuṇḍalakkūttu. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.176.

95. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.167.

nal year are found at Ambāsamudram[96], .Cōḷapuram[97], Mannārkōyil[98] and Ṡevilippēri[99] The range and distribution of his inscriptions in Ānamalai, near Madurai, Perundurai[100] in Pudukōṭṭai, Mannārkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Vīraśikhāmaṇi, Kaḷugumalai, Gaṅgaikoṇḍān, Ṡevilippēri, Ṡermādēvi, Kuṇḍalakkūttu, Ādanūr, Cōḷapuram, Tiruvitāṅkōḍu and Sucīndram indicate the extent of his territory. The Tiruvitāṅkoḍu inscription clearly shows that his authority was acknowledged in Kuṟu nāḍu.

Māṟavarman Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya seems to have been the successor of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. It is not known in what relationship they stood to one another. The inscriptions of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya range in date between his twentieth and twenty-ninth years. His only record at Tiruvālīśvaram,[101] dated in his twenty-fifth year, is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine and registers a gift of 13 cows for a perpetual lamp. The gift was to be maintained by Nāśakan Kūḷvāṇai, who is, in fact, the general figuring in a record[102] of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from this shrine. This clearly indicates that the general served both these rulers. This again is confirmed by a *vaṭṭeḻuttu* inscription from Ādanūr dated in the twentieth regnal year of Vikrama Cōḷa-Paṇḍya which is prefaced by a line in *vaṭṭeḻuttu* citing the twenty-third year of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. The inscription also mentions that Ādanūr was included in the sub-division called Suraṅguḍi nāḍu which formed a part of Muṭikoṇḍaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja ppāṇḍi nāḍu[103]. These territorial divisions are also referred to in the records of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya.

The exact dates for the reign of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya have not yet been fixed. An inscription from the Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine[104] of

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96. *Ibid.*, Nos.179-181

97. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, pp.1 ff; also Appendix A.

98. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962. No.177.

99. *Ibid., No.178.*

100. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, No.242. The Ṡiva temple here was built and named after the king as it is called Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Īśvaramuḍaiyār in the inscriptions.

101. *S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.187.*

102. *Ibid.*, No.170.

103. *Ibid.*, No. 183.

104. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.190.

the Śermādēvi temple dated in the twenty-fifth regnal year of the king refers to the inner *pradakṣiṇa* named Rājādhirājan *cuṟṟālai*, which was probably called after or constructed by Rājādhirāja (A.D. 1018-1054). This indicates that Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya was not far removed in point of time from Rājādhirāja and may have been his contemporary, ruling conjointly with Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya as suggested by the evidence of the Ādanūr record. There are only a few inscriptions of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya between the twenty-third and thirtieth years. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri identified Māṟavarman Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya with Mummuḍiśōḷa and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa on whom Vīrārājēndra conferred the Pāṇḍya country and the title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, with Jaṭāvarman Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[105]. Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya may be either another son of Rājēndra or Rājādhirāja. The title Mummuḍiśōḷa was conferred upon the younger brother of Rājādhirāja. This is clear from the statement 'Perumura ttannṟiru ttampiyar tammuḷ veṇṟikol Mummuḍiśōḷanai temmunaiyaḍutiṟṟa Śōḷapāṇḍyaneṇṇum' in the *praśasti* of Rājēndra and Virarājēndra[106]. The historical introduction concerning Vīrarājēndra refers to the fact that Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa, his son and the leader of the Elephant Corps, was given the title Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and entrusted with the Pāṇḍya country: 'Taṇṟiru maintanākiya Kaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷanai eḷuyari yānaiccēnai ccōḷapāṇḍiyaneṇṟ-uṇḍuyar maṇimuḍi ppāṇḍimaṇḍalamum kuḍuttaruḷi'[107]. Confirmation of this is found in an inscription of Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya dated in his third year from Śermādēvi in which he mentions his father (*nammayyar*) Vīrarājēndra[108].

Two of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Kanyākumārī are dated in his twenty-fourth and twenty-ninth years, the former recording a gift of money.[109] The latter[110] mentions that the *sabhā* of Kalikkuḍi met in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Rājarājēśvara temple and resolved to devote twenty *kāśu* collected at their instance from public subscription by Accan Māṟṟili, a merchant of Kumari towards meeting the expenses of food offering (*tiruvamudu*) in the temple, and for repairing the breaches in the tank called *Kōnāḍar kuḷam*. The *perumakkal* of Rājarājēśvaram agreed to supply two *nāḷi* of rice for

105. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917-18, part-II, para-3.
106. T.V.Sadāśiva Paṇḍarattar, *Pirkāla ccōlar carṭitiram*, 1949, p.261.
107. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, pp.3-6, 33.
108. *Ibid.*, XIV, 1962, No.194.
109. *A.R.Ep.*, 1896, No.100.
110. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, I, 1910-13, pp.249-250.

the daily offering. The record is important as it gives some details of the social and economic conditions of the period. The *perumakkal* are stated to have assembled in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple on a Tuesday, with the *nakṣatra* Puṣya. Unfortunately the portion giving the month and day in the inscription is damaged. By means of an astronomical verification five dates[111] can be equated with the details given in the record between A.D.1079 and A.D.1080.

1. May 7, A.D. 1079, Vaikāśi 14, f.d.t. 52, f.d.n. 71.
2. June 4, A.D. 1079, Āni 11, f.d.t. .92, f.d.n. .05.
3. March 3, A.D. 1080, Panguṇi 11, f.d.t. .97, f.d.n. .44.
4. December 1, A.D. 1080, Mārgaḷi 1, f.d.t. .71. f.d.n. .84.
5. December 29, A.D. 1080, Tai 6, f.d.t. .34, f.d.n. .18.

An undated inscription[112] of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from Śermādēvi mentions Ulaguḍaiyāḷ, the queen of Rājēndra. The Ambalanātha-śvāmin temple inscription dated in his twenty-first year refers to a brāhmaṇa lady named Maṇikuṭṭi naṅgai of Ninṛayil as belonging to the Kauṇḍina (Kauṇḍinya) *gōtra* and as a donor of a lamp[113]. It is interesting to find the *gōtra* of a lady mentioned in the record, as this is unusual. Another inscription from the same shrine and dated in the same year refers to a gift of cows by a brahmana lady[114]. Yet another called Mādēvi naṅgai donated twelve *kāśu* to the *aganāḷikai* śivabrāhmaṇas of the Cōḷēndrasiṃhēśvara and Kailāsa temples at Nigarilicōḷa caturvēdimaṅgalam for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine[115].

Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's authority over Cēra maṇḍalam is testified by the reference to a palace servant, Kuḍitāṅgi Śeṅgoḍi of the Śēramānār vēḷam who donated twenty-five sheep to the Kailāsa temple at Śermādēvi[116]. The Āttūr inscription dated in the king's twenty-

111. All these dates have been calculated with the help of L.D.Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1700, 1922 and W.E. Wan Wijk, *Decimal Tables for the Reduction of Hindu Dates from the Data of the Sūrya Siddhāntha*, 1938.

112. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.182.

113. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925 No.758.

114. *Ibid*, XIV, 1962, No. 184.

115. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.190.

116. *Ibid.*, No.185.

second year refers to the provision made by a native of Karuppūr in Marugal nāḍu, a sub-division of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu in Cōḷa maṇḍalam for perpetual lamps to the temple at Āṟṟūr in Rājādhirāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḍa naḍu, a sub-division of Uttamacōḷa vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja-ppāṇḍi-nāḍu[117]. Below this inscription are two fragments, one dated in Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's reign mentioning a palace servant named Śuṟṟitāḷi of śāttamaṅgalam and the other issued in the reign of Vīrarājēndra, with the *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Vīramē tuṇaiyāga'. The citation of Vīrarājēndra's *praśasti* and the reference to Rājdhirāja caturvēdimaṅgalam suggest that Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya was a contemporary of Vīrarājēndra and Rājādhirāja. Parākrama -nārāyaṇa brahmādhirāja was a *daṇḍanāyakam* officer under Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[118].

A second inscription of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from Āttūr dated in his twenty-fifth year refers to the śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple who agreed to maintain special offerings to the deity on every *amāvāsya* day and also to provide food to brāhmaṇas in the temple premises with the produce of the land endowed by Nṛpaśikhāmaṇi Mūvēndavēḷān of Maṅgalakkāl who bought the land from the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam[119]. The grain measure called *Sōmanāthan marakkāl* is also referred to. Yet another inscription dated in the king's twenty-seventh regnal year refers to a similar charity on *amāvāsya* day instituted by Abhimānarāja in the temple of Kanyābhagavati[120]. A gift of buffaloes for a perpetual lamp in the Sōmanātha temple by a native of Ponparri is referred to in an undated inscription of the king[121].

Jaṭāvarman Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya seems to have succeded Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya as a viceroy of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Though none of his inscriptions is found in the Tiruvālīśvaram temple, a brief note about his reign is given here as there is some confusion regarding his identity. There are strong reasons to identify him with prince Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa, the son of Vīrarājēndra who was appointed as a viceroy in the Pāṇḍya country[122]. Five of his inscriptions are found at Sucīndram ranging

117. *Ibid.*, No.186.
118. *Ibid* No.189.
119. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.191.
120. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p.152 No.114.
121. *A.R.Ep.*, 1929-30, No.403.
122. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.194.

in date between his third and twenty-fifth regnal years, indicating the length of his reign. The earliest dated in the third year refers to a gift of fifty sheep by Karikāla Cōḷa Vaiḍumbarāyan otherwise known as Cōḷa-Kēralan, a *daṇḍanāyakam* officer at Marudāttūr in Tiruvāli nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasiṃha Vaḷanāḍu[123]. Karikāla-Cōḷa was the title conferred upon Vīra Cōḷa according to a statement in the *praśasti* of Parakēsarivarman Rājēndra[124]. Vīra Cōḷa may be identified with Rajakēsari Vīrarājēndra who was also known as Karikāla-Cōḷa in the Kanyākumārī record[125]. Since the *daṇḍanāyaka* figuring in the same record had also the title Karikāla Cōḷa it is possible that this title was conferred by Vīrarājēndra and that Jaṭāvaraman Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya of this inscription was the same as Gaṅgaikoṇḍa who was made a viceroy by Vīrarājēndra. A close and comparative study of the palaeography of the stone inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Māṛavarman Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya and Uḍaiyar Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya has revealed that Jaṭāvarman Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya post-dated the other two.

An inscription from Sucīndram, dated in the twenty-fourth year of Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, concerns the sale of a plot of land measuring three *mā* and three *kāṇi* by the *sabhā* of the village to Abhimāna Cōḷa Viḷupparaiyan or Teṉṉavan Dēvargaṇḍan of Madurāntaka-caturvēdi-maṇgalam in kuṛukkai nāḍu[126]. The *sabhā* is said to have met by notification in full quorum at the *maṇiyambalam* on the 29th solar day of the month of Mithuna. Among the boundaries of the land are mentioned the irrigation channel called Amarabhujaṅga *vāykkāl*, probably named after the king Amarabhujanga, and also the lake called *Puttan-ēri*, which is still extant. The Kuṛumbur record of the king dated in the twenty-fourth year, registers an agreementby the *ūrār* of Pāṇḍyanallūr to pay taxes on two plots of land gifted by Puruṣōttaman to the temple[127]. A third inscription from Sucīndram[128] dated in his twenty-fifth year, records a sale of land by the *sabhā* of the village to Sēnāpati Malayappiccōḷan Veṅkaṭan Śaṅkaran of Uttamacōḷanallūr in Nallāṟṟūr nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājādhirāja Vaḷanāḍu, a district

123. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp.136-138.
124. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, No.26.
125. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, 1920, No.34
126. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, p.138 and plate.
127. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep*, 1940-41, No.276.
128. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp.132-33 and plate.

of Cōḷa maṇḍalam. The sēnāpati endowed the land to the temple for certain special offerings accompanied by chant of *mantras* immediately after the *tirumañjanam* (sacred bath) and before the daily offering to the deity. A flower garden called Unnatarāman at the south-western side of the temple was also to be maintained. Sixty *kāśu* were granted to the *sabhā* of Sundra Cōḷa caturvēdimaṅgalam by the donor in exchange for a plot of land owned by the *sabhā*. In acknowledging receipt of the sum the *sabhā* is stated to have received both the price of the land *(vilai-pporul)* and *iṟai-pporuḷ* which meant the amount required to compoud the tax for all time by one lump payment or by an investment to pay the annual tax from the interest. It is interesting to note that in the case of *dēvadāna* gifts, the assessment of the land was still due to the state but the donee, instead of the original owner of the land, was bound to pay it. This record is very important for the information it gives regarding the type of land tenures and the privileges and rights associated with the sale of land by a temple to a private buyer.

Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya's inscription from Śermādēvi, dated in his third year, is unique as it cites the 380th day and contains the names of several of his revenue officers and thus helps in establishing the identity of the king[129]. It records that the king, from his throne in Tirumañjana-śālai of his palace at Rājēndracōḷapuram, declared certain *dēvadāna* land at Kallur free from tax (four *vēli* including two *vēli* named Śivapādaśēkharanallur), had them entered into the register (*varippottagam*) under the orders of his father (*nammayyar*) Vīrarājēndra.

An inscription from the Sugandhavanēśvara shrine at Periccikōyil, Ramnad district, engraved on the west wall of the Bhairava shrine is dated in the twenty-first year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. It concerns a gift of land by Maḷuvamānikkam on behalf of his elder brother Rājādhirājapunguṇṟa nādāḷvān for the daily services and the burning of lamps before deity Kṣētrapāladēva in the Mattīśvaram-uḍaiya nāyanār temple at Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḷanallūr[130]. In view of the high regnal year cited and the absence of any of his other inscriptions in the same name or area and also the reference to Rājādhirājapunguṇṟa-nāḍāḷvān, it is to be concluded that Vīra Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya is identical with

129. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.194.
130. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.171.

Gangaikoṇḍa or Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, who received the title and the kingdom from his father Vīrarjēndra[131].

The only other Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya king figuring in the inscriptions of Tiruvālīśvaram is Māṛavarman parākrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Only two records of his are known, one from Tiruvālīśvaram, and the second from Śermādēvi. The earliest, dated in his third year[132] records a gift of twenty-five sheep by Rāman-kēṇi Tanma ceṭṭi, to the deity at Tiruvālīśvarm. The sheep were left in the charge of Nāśakan kapilai who was to maintain a perpetual lamp with one *uḷakku* of ghee. The palaeography of the record would suggest a date in the beginning of the twelfth century in comparison with the inscriptions of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from the same shrine. Nothing definite about this prince is recorded to suggest his relationship with other Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya princes who preceeded him or to the line of the Cōḷas. The fact that he does not mention any Cōla sovereign in his inscription establishes that he was an independent ruler though perhaps for a short period of four or five years. Nāśakan Kapilai may have been a military officer of the king as we find the title Nāśakan held by Kūḷvāṇai, a general serving under Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya and Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. The term Nāśakan probably is a designation for one who had distinguished himself in battle. It is also probable that Māṛavarman Parākrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya was a contemporary of Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1078-1100), who is known to be the successor of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha and a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I[133].

The inscription from Śermādēvi is dated in the fourth year of Parākrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[134] and is interesting in that it refers to Yōgadēva and his wife Sōmadēvi from Kāśmīradēśa, who made a gift of twelve *kāśu* for burning a perpetual lamp to the deity Kailāsamuḍaiyar. Yogadēva was probably a prince of Kāśmir who had undertaken a pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* in the South during the first half of the twelfth century. It is difficult to establish the identity of this prince as neither the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* nor the known sources of Kāśmir history mention him. Other natives of Kāśmir figure prominently in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from Chingleput, Trichinopoly, and

131. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, p.33.

132. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.196.

133. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, 1929, pp.120-124.

134. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.197.

Ramnad districts, testifying to the influx of remote northerners as pilgrims to the important temples in South India. The Tiruppālavanam inscription of Rājarāja refers to a gift of cattle by Kaṭṭimān Āriyan Tiruccirrembalam-uḍaiyār Paduman from Kāśmira deśam to the temple.[135] Kattiman also figures in other inscriptions of Rajaraja from Tiruvoṟṟiyur[136] and Kālahasti.[137] In the fourteenth century Desadeva, son of Nārāyaṇan of Kāśmīradēśam, made a gift of ten *accu* during the period of Kulaśēkharadēva to the deity at Tittandatanapuram, Ramnad district[138].

The Lōhara ruler of Kāśmīr, Harṣa (A.D. 1090)[139] is known to have adopted South Indian fashions and patterns of gold coinage. This is testified by Kalhana[140]. Somaladevi is referred to in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*[141] as the wife of Sujji, the minister of Loṭhaṇa. She is also said to be the daughter of Padmaratha, the king of Kalañjara.

The earliest Pāṇḍya king figuring in the Tiruvaliśvaram inscriptions is Śrīvallabha, a contemporary of Kulottuṅga I. There are two of his inscriptions dated in the seventh and ninth years on the north and south walls of the central shrine. The record of the seventh year is badly damaged. It refers to the village of Śivacaraṇa-śēkharanallūr registered as tax-free *dēvadāna* in the seventeenth year of an unspecified king. The gift is confirmed in the record by the then ruler on the terms settled by Umayammai and given as *kāṇi* to Mānābharaṇa Vaikuṇṭha Nāḍāḻvān and his successors under the orders of the king's general (*sēnāpati*) Rājēndra Veḷḷappa Nāḍāḻvān[142]. The unspecified king whose seventeenth year is cited must be Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya as the other inscription of Śrīvallabha from Tiruvālīśvaram[143] refers to the past *tirumugam* (royal order) of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya. Fur-

135. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 345.

136. *Ibid.*, 1911, No.369.

137. *Ibid.*, 1922, No.146.

138. *Ibid.*, 1926-27, No.600.

139. A.L. Basham, 'Harsa of Kashmir and the Iconoclast Ascetics' in *B.S.O.A.S.*, XII, 1948, pp.688-691.

140. *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, edited by Durgāprasāda, 1892, *Taraṅga* vii, strophe 1923; also translation by M.A.Stein, II, 1900, pp.149 and 153.

141. *Taranga* viii, strophes 1921-23.

142. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.239.

143. *Ibid.*, No.220.

ther, the inscription of Śrīvallabha dated in the seventh year refers to a number of officers who are already known from the inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya relating to a gift of five *vēli* of land. It is not possible to precisely date the reign of Śrīvallabha, though there is reason to believe that he was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga. The mention of Mānābharaṇa Vaikuṇṭha Nāḍāḷvān and Veḷḷappa Nādāḷvan in the Tiruvālīśvaram record is confusing as another donee Vīraśēkharan Aḍalaiyār Nāḍāḷvān refers to the fourth year of Śrīvallabha in one inscription[144] and the forty-fourth year of Kulōttuṅga in another[145] record from Kunnakuḍi, in which he trasfers the *iṛai*, *antarāyaṁ* and *kaḍamai* due to him from Nīḷ-Keṇṇamaṅgalamto the temple of Tirumalai- Uḍaiya nāyanār. Yet another inscription of Śrīvallabha dated in his tenth year refers to the thirty-first year (A.D.1101) of Kulōttuṅga, who took Kollam,[146]. The reference to Umyammai also confirms that Śrīvallabha was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I. There is, more over, some confusion about the identity of this king as given in the epigraphical report[147].

Some other known facts of the reign of Śrīvallabha can be discovered. The confusion in the Cōḷa empire leading to the accession to the Cōḷa throne of the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājēndra Kulōttuṅga I, in about A.D. 1070, gave the Pāṇḍyas a chance to recoup some of their lost power and glory. Śrīvallabha retained considerable authority for at least twenty-three years[148]. The grandiloquent *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Tirumaḍandaiyum Jayamaḍandaiyum' contains only few historical details of his reign. Two thrones, Pāṇḍyarāyan and Kāliṅgarāyan, called after an important officer Kāliṅgarāyan and an Aḷagiyapāṇḍyan hall in Madurai to the east of Māḍakkuḷam are also referred to. His son *(piḷḷaiyār)* Sundara-Pāṇḍya is referred to in another inscription[149]. The coin *tiramam* seems to have been current during his time. Most of the canals, sluices and water bunds referred to in his inscriptions are named after Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The grain

144. *A.R.Ep.*, 1909, No.30.

145. *Ibid.*, No.32.

146. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.226.

147. *A.R.Ep.*, 1909, Part II, para 23.

148. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.257. His inscriptions are distributed in Tirunelveli district and Madurai district, particularly at Kuruvitturai and Tiruppattur.

149. *A.R.Ep.*, 1909, No.493.

measure called *Vīra-pāṇḍyan* was also in use. All these details show that Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya were the predecessors of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha and showed interest in the agricultural condition of the Pāṇḍya country.

Next in Chronological sequence among the Pāṇḍya kings figuring in the Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions is Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who occupied the Pāṇḍya throne with the help of Kulōttuṅga III, as is recorded in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga[150]. An undated inscription which is definitely later than the fourth year (A.D.1182) of Kulōttuṅga[151], records that the son or sons of Vīra Pāṇḍya were defeated by the Cōḷa army. The sinhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and were forced to rush into the sea to escape the ravages of the Cōḷa army. Vīra Pāṇḍya was forced to retreat. The town of Madurai was captured and the Cōḷa army commemorated their seizure of the Pāṇḍya throne by planting a pillar of victory. The town of Madurai, the pāṇḍya throne and the kingdom were then transferred to Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who was an ally of the Cōḷas. Vikrama Pāṇḍya was apparently a weak ruler depending more on Cōḷa support than on his own strength even during his short rule of seven or eight years. Kulōttuṅga had to help him when Vira Pāṇḍya attacked with a strong force in about A.D. 1187 at Neṭṭūr. These events are narrated at some length in Kulōttuṅga's records dated in the seventh and eleventh years[152].

The Tiruvālīśvaram inscription of Vikrama Pāṇḍya[153] dated in his seventh year is engraved on a slab used for spreading flowers in the temple. It mentions that the slab was presented to the temple by Uḍaiyān Abhayampukkan Adirvīśiyāḍuvān[154], a resident of Niccitta-kaṇṭha perun-teruvu in Rājarāja eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam. The name of the donor Adirvīśiyāduvān suggests that he was an expert garland maker. Niccitta-Kaṇṭhan (one who had a decisive mind) was probably one of the surnames of Rājarāja. Rājarāja eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam was one such town formed during the period and named after Rājarāja I. It was a

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150. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, Nos. 28, 86 and 88; *A.R.Ep*, 1906, Nos.42-43 *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, Nos.190-192; 1908, No.94.

151. *S.I.I.*, VI, 1928, No.436.

152. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, Nos. 87 and 88.

153. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.371.

154. Alagan Adirvisiyaduvan of Mahīndapuram was a donor in the Veḷḷanur *inscription of Kulaśekhara. Inscr.Pud.State.* 1929, No.540.

suburb of Tiruvālīśvaram. Eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam may also be interpreted as a town of the *eri-vīras*, a sect of the community which was wide-spread, with special centres ear-marked as their own[155].

Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravarttin Kulaśēkhara is represented by nine inscriptions in Tiruvālīśvaram[156] ranging in date between his second and twenty-seventh years. His date of accession has been fixed at A.D. 1190 and he ruled from Madurai with considerable power till at least A.D. 1217. He was the immediate successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya. The Kalliḍaikuṟicci inscription dated in his second year refers to a *periya* nāyanār (elder relative), Śrīvallabha, one of his predecessors[157] Another inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the successor of Kulaśēkhara, refers to an earlier record issued in the third year of Śrīvallabha[158].

Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions begin with one of the three forms of *praśasti* 'Pūtala maṭantai', 'Pūtala vanitai' and 'Pūvin kiḷatti'.[159] K.V.S.Ayyar has suggested that the inscriptions with the *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Pūtala maṭantai' should belong to the reign of Kulaśēkhara I, those beginning with 'Pūvin-kiḷatti' to the middle one and those with 'Pūtala vanitai' to that of Kulaśēkara II[160] on the basis of his analysis of all inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara with the three *praśastis* discovered upto 1934. The same scholar has also suggested that Kulaśēkhara I counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and ruled till A.D. 1176-77. A special event marked the end of his fourth year (A.D.1166) just as the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country was beginning. This conclusion must remain tentative as a large mass of unpublished epigraphic evidence has been accumulated since 1934.

Nothing much of historical importance can be gleaned from these *praśastis* except a general indication in the 'Pūtala vanitai' variety particularly in the phrase 'vañjinankuṟu matakaḷir-ivarnda veñjina vēṅgai villuṭan oḷippa' which suggests that the Pāṇḍya kingdom began

155. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 365; 1912, Nos. 321 and 349; *Ep.Carn*, V, 1902, Arsikere 23.
156. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.335, 356, 337, 355, 370, 342, 333 and 350.
157. *Ibid.*, 1907, No.110.
158. *Ibid.*, 1905, No.683.
159. *Ibid.*, 1916, Nos.333, 337 and 349.
160. *Ep.Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40, pp.78-89.

at this time to hold its own against its Cōḷa and Cēra neighbours[161]. Further, Kōdai Ravivarman, a Cēra prince is referrred to as the king's brother-in-law *(maccunanār)* in the Śermādēvi record[162]. From his inscription dated in the third opposite the seventh year engraved on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Saundarya nāyaki shrine in Tiruvālīśvaram it may be surmised that the king of Jētuṅga nāḍu, the Tiruvaḍi, was Kulasekhara's subordinate[163]. With the evidence availabe at present the precise dynastic connections cannot be established. From the provenance of his inscriptions it appears that Kulaśēkhara's rule extended over Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelvēli districts. An important official named Jayaṅgoṇḍa Cōḷan Śrīvalluvan was administering kalavali nāḍu in Ramnad for a long time[164]. The king's three thrones Maḷavarāyan[165], Kāliṅgarāyan[166] and Munaiyadarayan[167] are also known. The Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions furnish many interesting data and information for a reconstruction of the king's reign. The earliest inscription, dated in his second year in the month of *Āṇi*, registers an agreement by Tiruttoṇḍa nambi, a śivabrāhmaṇa, to the *Śrīmāhēśvara* and *kaṇkāṇi* officers of the temple to the effect that he would measure two *kalam* one *tūṇi* and one *patakku* of paddy for the festival and procession of the deity on the day of the *Kārttikai* festival[168]. The paddy measured was towards the interest on one *accu* gifted to the temple by Ammainambār of Rājarāja-eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam. This inscription is engraved on the northern base of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and suggests that the *ardha-maṇḍapa* was added later during the time of the Pāṇḍyas.

Another inscription dated in Kulaśēkhara's third year has no *praśasti* but records a gift of two *accu* by Sēvakadēvan, residing in the Niccitta-kaṇṭhan perun-teruvu of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam. The money was to be utilised for providing food for ten *mahēsvaras* on every *amāvāsya* day in the premises of the Grāmarājan *maṭha*, The endowment was to be supervised and maintained by the *Śrīkāryam*

161. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos. 349 and 370.
162. *Ibid.*, No.665.
163. *Ibid.*, No.370.
164. *A.R.Ep.*, 1923, No. 313; 1924, part II, para 26.
165. *Ibid.*, 1909, No.459.
166. *Ibid.*, 1924, No. 29.
167. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.660.
168. *Ibid.*, No.335.

officers of the temple[169]. Kulaśēkhara's other inscription dated in the third opposite the fourth year[170] gives astronomical details: *Karkaṭaka* 13, *śu di dvādaśī*, Monday, *Jyēṣhtā-nakṣatra* which by verification and calculation would correspond to A.D. 1196, Monday, july 8 on which day *śu* 12 ended at .89 and *nakṣatra Jyēṣṭha* at .44 of the day[171]. It begins with the *praśasti* 'Pūvin kiḷatti ' and registers the sale of land by the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam to the Caṇḍēśvara piḷḷaiyār of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple. It also refers to the king's camp at Tirumaṇikkayal and to number of learned *sōmayājins* and *kratus* who were witnesses to the transaction.

The Grāmarājan *maṭha*, seems to have been an important religious and educational establishment as is evidenced by another epigraph of Kulaśēkhara dated in his ninth opposite the first year from Tiruvālīśvaram[172].. It registers the grant of ten *accu* by Dēvan Sambandhan of Malai maṇḍalam for providing food to fifty persons every month in the *maṭha*, where the devotees and worshippers of Tiruvālīsvaram were permitted to reside. It mentions too that the interest on one *accu* was five *kuruṇi* of paddy per month.

Kulaśēkhara's inscription dated in the third opposite the seventh year, *Margali* 20, Sunday, *saptami*, *uttara-bhādrapada* and day 2690[173] begins with the *praśasti* 'Pūtala vanitai ' and registers the king's order to the authorities of Tiruvālīśvaram for getting the rice required for offerings by giving the paddy to be husked by the *dēvadāsis* of the temple. The order was made at the request of the *Śrīrudras* and Śrī-*māhēśvaras* of Suttamalli maṅgalam. It also refers to a similar order passed by the Tiruvaḍi of Jētuṅga nāḍu. Though the *praśasti* is that of Kulaśēkhara I, the day of the solar month cited (2690) may point to a later reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulśēkhara, who came to power in A.D. 1237. The palaeography of the record does not support this conclusion but points definitely to an earlier date. The other inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara from Tiruvālīśvaram are damaged and not very important except for two, one of which is dated in the thirteenth opposite the

169. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.356.

170. *Ibid.*, No.337.

171. L.D. Swamikannu pillai. *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D.700 to A.D. 1700*, 1922; W.E. Wan Wijk, *Decimal Tables for the Reduction of Hindu Dates of Surya siddhanta*, 1938.

172. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, no.355.

173. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, no.370.

fourteenth year[174] and another undated, which is badly mutilated but refers to the coin *ānai-accu*[175]. His well-known Tiruppūvanam copper-plate grant, dated in his twenty-fifth year (A.D.1214) records a grant of a new village formed by grouping together several old villages under the name of Rājagambhīra-caturvēdimaṅgalam after marking its boundaries in the traditional manner of taking round a female elephant and making periodical announcements. Rājagambhīra was one of the surnames of Kulaśēkhara. The new village included as many as 140 old villages and land which lay in five sub-divisions, namely Kīranūr nāḍu, Panagaḷūr nāḍu, Tiyandaikkuḍi nāḍu, Mērkkuḍi nāḍu and Puṟappaṟalai naḍu[176].

There is a certain difficulty in dating Pāṇḍya inscriptions which arises from the method of mentioning the regnal years in double dates as *a* years opposite *b* years. The usual and accepted procedure is to treat the date as equivalent to *a+b* years and calculate the date of accession accordingly. In the Larger Śinnamanur Plates[177] the regnal year two opposite the fourteenth (*iraṇḍāvatin edir padināṅkāvatu*) is rendered in the Sanskrit portion as *Ṣōḍaśe rājya varṣē*. Several other suggestions have been put forward which are both unsatisfactory and unacceptable. The double dates were interpreted to refer to the Paraśurāma and Bārhaspatya cycles by Sir Walter Eliot and Dr. Caldwell in the last century. Dr. Burnell was of the view that in the double dates, the first one *(āṇḍu)* refers to the regnal year of the king and the second to his age. Dr. Hultzsch[178] suggested that the first and second (edir) dates refer to the date of appointment as heir-apparent and the actual reign. This theory was followed by V. Venkayya. T.A. Gopinatha Rao [179] suggested that the two dates referred to the actual regnal year of the king and the year as counted from the consecration of the previous ruler till the coronation. Narayana Ayyar's suggestion that the date opposite to which other dates follow remains constant in the case of

174. *Ibid.*, No.342.
175. *Ibid.*, No.333.
176. *Ep.Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40,pp.64-136.
177. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, p.453, text lines 57-58; p.456, text lines 146-147.
178. *Ind. Ant.*, XX, 1891, pp.288-89.
179. *Śen-Tamil*, IV, 1905-06, p.114.

the same ruler is also untenable. Finally S. Subramanya Sastri[180] attempted to interpret the *āndu* and *edir āndu* in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājaraja III (A.D.1216-1246) as referring to a period of interregnum. The reference to more than one *edir āndu* is interpreted by the same scholar as referring to frequent breaks and restorations. This may be probably true in the case of Rājarāja III but there are enormous difficulties in applying the test to the numerous Pāṇḍya inscriptions which cite more than one date. All these speculations fail to explain why inscriptions of one and the same reign have different figures on both sides of the phrase *edir* and this has been translated by official epigraphists as 'opposite '. In spite of these uncertainities, taking the sum of the first and second dates to refer to the whole reign of a king is the only plausible and convincing solution as suggested by the evidence of the larger Śinnamanur Plates and the Tiruppuvanam Grant of Kulaśēkhara.

Māṛavarman Tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, 'who was pleased to take the Cōḷa country ' was the successor of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara. His date of accession has been fixed by Kielhorn in A.D. 1215-16[181]. This is confirmed by one of his inscriptions at Tiruvālīśvaram[182]. It is dated in his fifth year and gives astronomical details namely *Makara 4, su di 2,* Monday and *Dhaniṣṭha* which corresponds to Monday, 28th December, A.D. 1220. The *nakṣatra* commenced at .04 ending at .44 of the next day. His other inscriptions from Tiruvālīśvaram range in date between the second and sixteenth years although his last recorded regnal year is twenty-three[183]. There are, however, a few inscriptions between his seventh and sixteenth years. His inscriptions often contain a very long and elegant *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum'[184] furnishing information of considerable interest. There is little reason to doubt

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180. *The interpretation of Double Dates, āndu and edir āndu in the regnal years of certain Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and other kings,* published by Tirumala Tirupati Dēvasthānam, Tirupati. Reviewed in *J.I.H.*, XXVI, 1948, pp.92-95.

181. *Ep.Ind.*, VII, 1901-1902, Appendix II, p. 24; *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, Part II. para 41; *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, p.33.

182. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.353. Transcription in Chapter V.

183. *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No.207.

184. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.340.

the statements made in the Tiruparankuṉṟam inscription[185] of his seventh year that the Pāṇḍyas extended their sway at the expense of the Cōḷas. After his coronation Sundara Pāṇḍya undertook an expedition against the Cōḷas and ravaged the cities of Tanjore and Uṟaiyur, plundering the surrounding territories. The Cōḷa king, it is stated, had to seek refuge in flight, after which the Pāṇḍya performed a *vīrābhiṣēka* in the *abhiṣēka-maṇḍapa* of the Cōḷas. It is further mentioned that he went to Cidambaram to worship at the famous shrine of Naṭarāja and having sent for the vanquished enemy, the Cōḷa king, who came along with his son and paid obeisance to the victorious Pāṇḍya, bestowed on him his lost territory, crown and title *C*ōḷa-pati. He also confirmed this by issuing a royal rescript with the Pāṇḍya seal. The titles 'śōnāḍu koṇḍaruḷiya' 'śōnāḍu koṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapurattu vīrar-abhiṣēkam paṇṇiyaruḷiya'' and 'śōnāḍu valangi aruḷiya.' appear as early as the third year of the king's reign[186].

Sundara Pāṇḍya seems to have invaded the Cōḷa territory quite early in his reign though the restoration of Cōḷa is not mentioned till his sixth year[187]. The Cōḷa opponent was Kulōttuṅga III but it was to Rājarāja III the Cōḷa throne was restored in A.D.1217[188]. Sundara Pāṇḍya freed from prison the kings of North and South Koṅgu who had been quarelling over mutual territorial encroachments. It is not known, however, how they both were imprisoned. The ruler of Southern Koṅgu was Vīrarājēndra (A.D. 1207-1253)[189] who claims to have ruled over the two Koṅgus[190]. The ruler of North Koṅgu may be the Adigaimān of Tagaḍūr who held possession of the Koṅgu territory from earlier times. The other possibility is that he was a Koṅgu-Cōḷa ruler but no such ruler of this period has been discovered so far. If the reference is to the Adigaimān it may be to Viḍugādaḷagiya perumāl, who was subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III in A.D. 1200 or to his immediate successor[191]. This king who had other surnames such as Viḍugādan,

185. *S.I.I.*, IV. 1923, No. 372.

186. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No.362.

187. *Ibid.*, 1916, No. 341. Transcription in Chapter V. A different interpretation is given by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, 1929, p.146.

188. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1932-33, pp.41-42.

189. *A.R.Ep.*, 1909, No.136.

190. *Ibid.*, no.106.

191. *Ibid.*, part II, para 34; *Ep.Ind.*, VI, 1900-1901, pp.332-333.

Vidugādalagiyan and Vyāmukta śravaṇōjvala is described as the son of Rājarāja adhikan[192] and a lineal descendant of Elini, the Kērala king. His capital was Tagadai in Dharmapuri district. The range of his inscriptions in North Arcot district testify to his rule over North Koṅgu[193].

The second war with the Cōla king referred to in the *praśasti* of Sundara Pāṇḍya was against Rājarāja III. The circumstances leading to his second campaign may be examined. Narasiṃha II, the Hoysaḷa king who was the father in law of Rājarāja III marched to Śrīraṅgam in A.D. 1222 and in A.D. 1224 assumed the title 'Cōḷamaṇḍala sthāpana-ācārya'[194] possibly at the request for help by Rājarāja III against Sundara Pāṇḍya. Narasiṃha was able to establish a new centre at Kaṇṇanūr five miles from Śrīraṅgam on the borders of Cōḷa and Pāndva territories, indicating that the allied forces of Narasiṃha and Rājarāja triumphed. The earliest record referring to Kaṇṇanūr, ruled by Vira Sōmēśvara, the son of Narasiṃha is dated in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri (A.D. 1228)[195]. As Narasiṃha II ruled till atleast A.D. 1233 Kaṇṇanūr may have been made the capital during his life time and his son stationed there to guard the Cōḷa king. Sundara Pāṇḍya seems to have allied himself with the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, who was an enemy of Narasiṃha. Peruñjiṅga styles himself 'Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala Sthāpana Sūtradhāra.'[196] It appears that Sundara Pāṇḍya was also helped by the Bāṇas in his wars against the Cōḷas.[197] This help was reciprocated by bestowing the golden crown of the Cōḷa on a Bāṇa before the *vīrābhiṣēka* of Sundara Pāṇḍya at Āyirattaḷi. A few inscriptions throw light on the question of Bāṇa-Pāṇḍya relationship. One from Jambukēśvaram refers to the gift of the Cōḷa country to Bāṇapati by Sundara Pāṇḍya[198]. Another from Tiruveḷḷarai refers to the Pāṇḍya king who threatened to trample his unyielding enemies under the feet of his elephants[199]. The anti-Cōḷa policy of the Bāṇa ruler incurred the

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192. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.126; *S.I.I.*, Vii, 1933, no. 127.
193. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, nos.544, 545, 547, 552 and 562.
194. *Ep.Ind.*, VII, 1902-1903, p. 162.
195. J.F. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetter,* I part II, 1896, p. 507.
196. *S.I.I.*, IV, 1923, No.1342 B.
197. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.97.
198. *A.R.Ep.*, 1908, No.481.
199. *A.R.S. Ind.Ep.*, 1938-39, No.199

wrath of Narasiṃha, who even before playing a leading part in the restoration of the Cōḷa authority punished the Bāṇa for his disloyalty.

The earliest reference to the Bāṇas is in the Talgund Pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman[200]. Mayūraśarman is said to have levied a tribute from the great Bāṇa, who was probably a pallava fuedatory. The territory ruled by the Bāṇas is described as 'Āndhrātpathah paścimatōkṣitiṃ' (in the land to the west of Āndhra) in the Sanskrit portion of the Udayēndiram plates of Vikramāditya II[201]. 'Vaḍugavaḷi mērku' in the Guḍimallam inscription of Nandipottaraiyar[202] and 'vaḍugavaḷi 1200' in the Tiruvallam inscription of Nandi Vikrama varman[203]. The Mudyānur Plates of the Bāṇa king Malladēva Nandivarman which purport to date from Śaka 261 (A.D.338)[204], the evidence of which on geographical points could be admitted mentions the twelve thousand villages in Andhra maṇḍala. Perumbāṇappāḍi, occurring in later Tamil inscriptions was another name for the Bāṇa territory. The province extended from Punganūr in the west to Kālahasti in the east. The river Pālār probably formed the southern boundary of the province.[205] On the analogy of the terms Dakṣiṇapatha and Uttarapatha, Āndhrapatha referred to in the Māyidevōlu Plates of Śivaskandavarman[206] along with Dhamñakaḍa or Amarāvati, may be taken to be synonym of Vaḍugavaḷi occuring in Tamil inscriptions.

The northern portion of the North Arcot district and parts of the Kolar district in Mysore would correspond to Perumbāṇappāḍi of the Tamil inscriptions, but it cannot be to the west of the Āndhra country nor form any part of it as implied by the expressions 'vaḍugavaḷi-merku' and 'Āndhrāt pathah paścimatō.' It is to be supposed that there was a road leading to the Āndhra country from the Tamil country or that the territory which lay betwen Andhra and Tamil areas was called Vaḍugavaḷi, as the road to Andhra ran through it and it was the area to the west of this road or the western portion of it that was ruled by the Bānas. Another possibility is that the name 'Vaḍugavaḷi mērku'

200. *Ep.Ind.*, VIII, 1905-1906, pp.24-36. Also D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian history and Civilisation*, 1942, pp. 450-55.
201. *Ep.Ind.*, III, 1894-96, pp.74-79.
202. *Ibid.*, XI, 1911-12, p.224, text lines 7-8.
203. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, p.90.
204. *Ind. Ant.*, XV, 1886, pp.172-177.
205. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906-07, part II, para 45.
206. *Ep.Ind.*, VI, 1900-01, pp.84-89.

was correctly applied to the Bāṇa dominions during the period when they were ruling as Pallava fuedatories, a part of the districts to the west of Āndhra. With the rise of the Cāḷukyas in the seventh century, the Pallavas seem to have been forced out of the Āndhra territory and consequently the Bāṇas were also driven into the northern portion of the North Arcot district. This province they continued to call 'Vaḍugavaḷi'. It is also possible that the Bāṇas may have applied the original name of their territory to any district occupied by them in later times.

The earliest of Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Tiruvālīśvaram is damaged[207]. It is dated in his second year and refers to an earlier grant made in the time of Periyanāyanār Kulaśēkhara of a gift of twelve *accu*. From the interest accruing out of this amount the offerings and worship in the temple were to be conducted on *Śivarātri*. It also refers to a *nāṭṭu-kalaham*, when the *pūja* in the temple was stopped and four of the *accu* of interest due to the temple remained unpaid during this period of disturbance. The confusion and conflict in the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa territories during the later half of Kulaśēkhara's rule is perhaps alluded to in the record. Another inscription engraved on the inner *gōpura* of the temple is dated in the king's fourth year.[208] It records an agreement *(tīṭṭu)* given by a śivabrāhmaṇa Nalāyira bhāṭṭa to the Śrikāryam, dēvarkanmi, and kaṇkāṇi officers of the temple for conducting an annual festival and procession on the day of Dhaniṣthā *nakṣatra* in the month of Kārttikai out of the money received from Vikraman Aghōradēvan of Paḷḷiccēy in Malai maṇḍalam. It also refers to gift of one *accu* left with Tirujñānasambandha bhaṭṭa by Ādinārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa for the same purpose. Dhaniṣthā was the birth star of the king and it was on this day that special offerings and festivals here held in the temple. This is confirmed by another inscription of the king dated in his eighth year[209] which incidentally gives a clue to the dating of the inner *gōpura* of the temple.

Another royal inscription with the epithet 'śōnādu ḳoṇḍaruḷiya' dated in his fifth year records a gift of three *accu* by Āriyāl Bhuvani Āṭkoṇḍanāyaka māṇikkam, a dēvaraḍiyāl. The money was left with Adirvīśiyāḍuvān for providing food to fifteen ascetics every month in the

207. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.363.
208. *Ibid.*, No.344.
209. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, no.340.

Vīra paṇḍitan *maṭha* in the precincts of Tiruvālīśvaram[210]. The same *maṭha* was a recipient of another gift of six *accu* for providing food to a further thirty ascetics on the day of the Rōhiṇi *nakṣatra*[211]. The same institution was the benificiary in the eighth opposite the first year of the king[212]. Among the signatories mentioned in a record dated the fifth year were Tiruvālavāy uḍaiyān, Cēramān Tōman, Tatpuruṣa dēva and Aghōra dēva [213]. Tiruvālavāy is certainly Madurai as it is known to have had the name since the times of Jñānasambandhar and Sundaṟar[214]. The engraver of the record was Nāṭṭu nambi. Tatpuruṣadēva was an important temple officer and treasurer of Sundara Pāṇḍya for he is mentioned as receiving four *accu* gifted by Aghōra dēva to provide food for the mahēśvaras on every Bharaṇi *nakṣatra* in the Grāmarājan *matha*[215].

From another inscription dated in Sundara Pāṇḍya's fifth year we learn that a *dēvaraḍiyāl* of the temple 'Sempon Tyāgi Vīrabhadra-Nangai and her son Sadāvāsaka perumān and his brother left a gift of money with Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭa, a śivabrāhmaṇa of the temple for food offering on the day of the Śivarātri festival in the temple[216]. Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭa agreed to measure out five *kalam* of paddy on the day previous to Śivarātri in the month of Māśi[217]. Śempon Tyāgi is known to have made another donation of 14 *accu* to the temple for the annual festival of *pavitra* (Agni) in the eleventh opposite the third year of the king's reign[218]. Another record dated in the fifth year and the month Paṅguni of Sundara Pāṇḍya, is interesting as it mentions the setting up of the shrine of Ālālasundara nāyanār in Tiruvālīśvaram by Kulaśēkhara bhaṭṭa and his consort Paṟavai nācciyār. The inscription records the gift of six *accu* remitted into the temple treasury by Āṭkoṇḍanāyaka māṇikkam, a *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* of the temple for food offerings (*śāttupaḍi*

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210. *Ibid.*, No.353.
211. *Ibid., No.357.*
212. *Ibid.*, No. 351.
213. The same as the donor in *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.344.
214. *Tēvāram*, Kāśi Mutt edition, 1949, p.361.
215. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 358.
216. *Ibid.*, No.352.
217. *Ibid.*, No.354.
218. *Ibid.*, No.362.

and amutupadi) on the auspicious occasion of the marriage of God Ālālasundara[219].

Sundara pāṇḍya's inscription dated in the fifth year (A.D. 1220) in the month of Puraṭṭādi from Tiruvālīśvaram has the *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum' and registers the sale of the right of *Kārāṇmai-kāṇi* by Śrīvallabhan Aḷagan Malaiyarāyan of Vīrakāvalar-kōṭṭai in Rājarāja-eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam to Sōmayāji Gaṅgādhara of Pāppāṅkuṟicci, the first *cēri* of Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam for 120 *ānai-accu*. The following details of the boundaries of the land are mentioned; East-to the west of the sandal grove and valley (*śandaṇa ttāḷvu*) South-to the north of the trident marking the boundary of the tank called Vikrama Pāṇḍya-ppallava-daraiyan and the land called after Arulāla Pāṇḍya-ppallavadaraiyar and the ant hill on the bank of the Appāṇḍār tank; west-to the east of the stream running near the *śemmēḍu* (elevated hillock) and North-to the south of the *dēvadāna* land and the trident mark in the irrigation channel called Vēlṅgapaḷḷi *vāykkāl* and the Vinai-*āṟu*. The other rights such as irrigation facilities for the land, namely the Appāṇḍār *kuḷam* (tank), the *naṇjai* and *puñjai* land (wet and dry) the spring wells near the land, the trees that stood on the site were also given along with the sale[220]. The mention of Vīrakāvalar-kōṭṭai is significant. It was a fortress used as a defence to guard the town and temple of Tiruvālīśvaram, It is, however, not extant, though further intensive exploration in the area may probably bring it to light. Pāppāṅkuṟicci is identical with Pāppāṅkuḷam, eight miles from Ambāsamudram. The name suggests that it was predominantly a brāhmaṇa village[221].

An agreement given by three prominent śivabrāhmaṇas Ādiccan Śiṅgan (Ādityasiṃha), his brother Jayapādan and his brother Śiriyāṇ-ḍānbhaṭṭan to the *dēvarkanmi* and *śrīkāryam* officers of Tiruvālīśvaram for conducting the processional festivities of the God and Goddess on the day of the Rōhiṇi *nakṣatra* in the month of Kārttikai from the interest on one *accu* received from Kāḷisūriyan Vīrasūriya ppallavaraiyan of Malai maṇḍalam, in the month of Paṅguni, is known from another record of the king dated in his fifth year[222]. The interest on one

219. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.345.

220. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.348.

221. A long list of Cēris (hamlets) is given in the Mannārkōyil inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya *Ep. Ind.* XI, 1911-12, pp.296-98.

222. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916; No.346.

accu per month is stated to be five *kalam* of paddy. The introduction of Śiriyāṇḍan bhaṭṭan as 'ivan tambi' in the text of the record after Jayapādan is significant. The inference is that Ādityasiṃha and the other two were not uterine brothers.

The consecration of the Subrahmaṇya shrine ('Kuṉṟam-erinda-piḷḷaiyār') and the construction of a *maṇḍapa* called Niccitta- kaṇṭhan in Tiruvālīśvaram by a brahmana named Śrī Vāsudēvan Adirāśan Tyagavinōda brahmādhirāyan is attested by another inscription of the king referring to the fifth opposite the first year[223]. It describes the king with the title 'Śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya'. This is the earliest reference to the king's restoration of the Cōḷa country to Rājarāja III. The shrine of Subrahmaṇya was the recipient of a gift of one *accu* from a resident of Tiruvālīśvaram for a twilight lamp (*sandhyā-dīpa*) in the shrine, in the seventh opposite the first year of the king's reign. Here again he bears the title 'Śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya'[224]. Another of the Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions[225] refers to the king's fifth opposite the first year and the month of Panguni. It records a gift of eight *accu* by śōlan śiyan Aghōradēva of the Jīyar *santāna* of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* for conducting a procession of the deity ('elundaruḷivikka') on every *amāvāsya* day. The lineage of the teachers of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* is discussed in Chapter IV.

That the birthday star of Sundara Pāṇḍya was Dhaniṣṭā (*Aviṭṭam*) in the month of Puraṭṭādi, as was noticed earlier, is confirmed by another record of the king dated in his eighth year and 271st day from Tiruvālīśvaram[226]. It records a gift of nine *mā* one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land as *dēvadāna*, free of tax (iṟaiyili āka') and with incomes ('antarāyam uṭpaṭa') made by the king at the request of Maḷavaraiyar to the temple for bathing the god on the birth day of the king, and for conducting on the same day a festival instituted by Tamiḷa-ppallavaraiyan[227]. Below this inscription are engraved two

223. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.341.

224. *Ibid.*, No.360. He had another title 'Atiśaya pāṇḍya'. *A.R.Ep., 1916, No.662; also part II, para 9.*

225. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.364.

226. The king's name as given in this record is Tribhuvanacakravarthi Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān. But on considerations of Palaeography and other internal evidence, this can be definitely assigned to Sundara Pāṇḍya. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.338.

227. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.338.

lines of the king's *praśasti* 'Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum'. The order transferring the gift land to the temple is recorded in another inscription with the title 'śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya', engraved on the south wall of the first *prākāra*. It is dated in the eighth year and refers to the king as seated on the throne called Maḷavarāyan in the bed chamber of his palace at Madurai. His officers Tamiḷa-ppallavaraiya and Maḷavarāyan are also mentioned as being directed by the king to enter the order regarding the transaction in the books of the registry office[228]. The unfinished and undated inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya on the east wall of the *prākāra* records a gift of money for conducting the festival of Kārttikai by a resident of Tiruvālīśvaram[229]. Another inscription[230] referring to the fourth opposite the first opposite the first year ('yāṇḍu nālāvatin edirāmāṇḍin edirāmāṇḍu') of the king is interesting but problematical. It gives the details of the month Āvaṇi, 2nd day, Thursday and Uttara bhādrapada, which are just enough to be verified and calculated. The only occasions between A.D.1184 and A.D.1384 when Uttara bhādarapada coincided with Thursday and the second day of Āvaṇi were 1) A.D. 1276, July 30, Thursday. Uttara bhādrapada began at .08 and ended the next day at .19. This was the third day of Āvaṇi by the Ārya siddhānta but the second day Āvaṇi by the Sūrya siddhānta.

2) A.D. 1371, July 31, Thursday when Uttara bhādrapada began at .01 ending at .00 the next day. This was the second day of Āvaṇi both by Ārya and Sūrya siddhāntas[231]. The palaeography of the inscription points clearly to an earlier date. The record also refers to the request of Śōlakōn one of the *mudalis* of the Bhikṣā *maṭha* and also to the subsequent rehabilitation of two villages in Tirukkāmapuram. Jayamukharaman figures as signatory of the grant and the engraver is stated to be Tiruttoṇḍācāryan.

Tan-porundam as the name of the Tāmraparṇī occurs in an inscription on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of Tiruvālīśvaram[232]. The record is dated in the eighth year

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228. *Ibid.*, No.340.

229. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.365.

230. *Ibid.*, No.347.

231. L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D. 700 to A.D.1700*, 1922; H.Jacobi, 'New special Tables for the computation of Hindu Dates 'in Ep.Ind., XI, 1911-12, pp.158-173.

232. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.341; also *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, p.296.

in the month of Mārgaḷi and refers to Sundara Pāṇḍya without any epithet. It registers the gift of one *accu* equivalent to five *kalam* of paddy by Nārāyaṇa Aiyappan of Kuruputtūr in Malai maṇḍalam, left with Vīrapaṇḍita bhaṭṭan, a śiyabrāhmaṇa of the temple for securing water from Tan-porundam to bathe the god on Sundays. The copy of the document was written by Karumāṇikka nambi of Vaikuṇṭhanallūr in Milalai kūrram. K.V.S.Ayyar's identification of Mo-Lo-Ku-T'a of Hsuan Tsang with Miḷalai kūrram is incorrect[233].

The Saundarya nāyaki shrine in Tiruvālīśvaram has on its *adhiṣṭhāna* an inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya dated in the fifteenth opposite the first year. It records a gift of one good *ānai accu* for a *sandhyādīpa* in the shrine by a resident of Rājarāja-eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam[234]. The reference to a good *ānai accu* is suggestive. Perhaps there were other coins in circulation which were not up to the standard coins issued by the king. The same shrine has another record dated in the sixth year and twentieth day of Tribhuvananacakravartti Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān, who is to be identified with Sundara Pāṇḍya. The inscription contains the interesting information that the land gifted to the temple of Tirunelvēli was situated to the south of Tiruvālīśvaram and was reclaimed after cutting down the forest overgrown with jack trees[235]. Yet another inscription, though not referring to any king's reign, is dated in the twenty-sixth year and 345th day and the month of Āni. It refers to an order of the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam regarding the newly constituted village situated to the south of Tiruvālīśvaram. It also specifies that the right of *Kaḍamai* over the village was to be held by the temple of Tirunelvēli and the right of *kārāṇmai* by Kāliṅgarāyan. The villages was then to be entered in the registry accounts as tax free *dēvadāna*. The signatories of the document included, among others, Kulaśēkhara vāṇadaraiyan. The word *tulyam* at the end of the record indicates that it was a copy.[236]

The other inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya on the walls of the inner *gōpura* of Tiruvālīśvaram are undated and mutilated but appear to register gifts of money by a number of *dēvaraḍiya*[237]. Another in-

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233. *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, 1917, pp.115-122.
234. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No367.
235. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.369.
236. *Ibid.*, No.368.
237. *Ibid.*, Nos.343 and 366.

complete inscription[238] without details either of date or king contains valuable information. It records that while the Mahēśvaras, śrīrudras and the residents of the five *guha* met at the Kulaśēkhara *maṇḍapa* in the temple of Tirunelvēli, the Mahēśvaras, Śrīrudras and the residents of Śuddhamalli maṅgalam, the western subrub of Tiruvālīśvaram informed them that the God and Goddess of *tirukkāmakkōṭṭam*[239] (dēvi shrine) were without any endowments. Unfortunately the inscription is incomplete and ends abruptly. The palaeography of the record would point to a date between the later half of the twelfth century A.D. and the first quarter of the thirteenth, but there is no other means of assigning the record to a particular king.

The only other Pāṇḍya king figuring in the Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions is Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravartti Vīra Pāṇḍya, whose date of accession has been fixed by Kielhorn and Sewell in between 20th June and 24th July A.D. 1255[240]. Vira Pandya seems to have ruled for twenty-two years[241] till A.D. 1247-75. Most of his inscriptions are found in Tirunelvēli, Madurai Ramnad and Pudukkōṭṭai districts though there are some records at Kāncīpuram[242] and Coimbatore[243]. Only three inscriptions of this king, all dated in the third year, are at Tiruvālīśvaram. The earliest, issued in the month of Āvaṇi, records a gift of one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land, free of taxes, in the *dēvadāna* village of Śivacaraṇa-śēkharanallūr with the *mēl-vāram* and *kīḻ-vāram* incomes made payable to Śrīharṣa bhaṭṭa of Tulakkili maṅgalam, the ninth *cēri* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, for reciting Ṛg vēda in the temple. It is further stated that the donee's ancestors were getting six *nāḻi* of paddy every day for the same recitation. Among the boundaries of the land granted are mentioned the irrigation channel Vāsudēva *vāykkāl* and the land lying to the east of the fifth sluice and to the west of the *Tiruvaraṅga-vadi* (high street leading to the fortress)[244].

238. *Ibid.*, No.336.

239. K.R.Srinivasan, 'Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam 'in *Proc. Trans. All India. Or. Conf,* 1946, pp. 50-56; V.R.R.Dikshitar, 'Note or Tirukkamakottam' in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress,* ninth session, pp.149-152.

240. *Ind.Ant.*, XLIV, 1915, pp.194-196.

241. *A.R.Ep.,* 1908, No.128.

242. *Ibid.*, 1919, No.483.

243. *Ibid.*, 1923, No.35; 1919, Nos.299 and 302 from North Arcot district

244. *A.R.Ep.,* 1916, No.339.

The second inscription is dated in the month of Āvaṇi and the third year. It is an agrement given by eight śivabrāhamaṇas of the temple to Pugali-pperumāḷ of the *Jñānamrta saṇtāna*. of the Gōḷaki *maṭha*, for reading *tiruḍñāna* in the temple of śivacaraṇa-śēkharanallūr a *dēvadāna* village[245]. Śivacaraṇa-śēkharanallūr was a suburb of Tiruvālīśvaram as has been previously noted.

The third record[246] dated in the ninth day of the month of Purṭṭādi registers a gift of land made by the śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple to Aghōra dēva of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* for maintaining a flower garden named *Pāṇḍyadarayar tiru nandavanam* and for picking flowers to make garlands. It may incidentally be noted that another inscription form Tiruvālīśvaram[247] records the gift of flower stones by Nāgadēvan Puruṣōttaman.

The other aspects of the reign of Jaṭāvarnan Tribhuvana-cakravartti Vīra Pāṇḍya has been discussed in detail by K.A.Nilakanta Sastri[248].

245. *Ibid.*, No.359.
246. *Ibid.*, No.361.
247. *Ibid.*, No.372.
248. *Pāndyan kingdom*, 1929, pp.175-182.

3

Administration and Economic Life

The period covered by this administrative survey, as gleaned from contemporary inscriptions and literary sources, extends over more than three centuries from c. A.D.850 to A.D.1200 and comprises the whole of the Tirunelvēli district, parts of Madurai, the rest of Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam and parts of Cōḷa maṇḍalam north of the Kāvēri in Trichinopoly in Madras State.

The quality of any good system of administration may appear from the progress of education, learning and culture since stability promotes the economic condition of the the people. A Tamil inscription dated in the sixth year of Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1076) proclaims this lofty ideal in the words *mallaiñjālattu maṇṇuyirkkēllam ellayil inbam olivinil eyti* 'bringing unbounded happiness to the entire human race'.[1]

The form of government was monarchical[2]. The king is described in his official records as *uḍaiyār*, *cakravarttin* and *tribhuvanacakravarttin*. The inauguration of a king was a ceremony of great political significance. Though a prince usually acceded to the throne immediately after the death of the previous ruler, it was his inauguration that gave him the legal title to govern. Hence it is, for instance, that, when Rājādhirāja, the son of Rājēndra I died in A.D.1054 in the battle of Koppam fighting against the Cāḷukya king Sōmēśvara I his brother

1. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, p.66; *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No.85

2. For an admirable survey of Ancient Indian Kingship see J.Gonda, 'Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious point of view' in *NUMEN* III, 1956, pp.36-71, 122-125, IV, 1957 pp.24-58, 127-164. Also Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, 1962, pp.19 ff; J.D.M.Derrett, 'Bhū-bharaṇa, Bhū-Pālana, Bhū-bhōjana: An Indian Conundrum 'in *B.S.O.A.S* XXII, 1959, pp. 108-123.

Rājēndra II, who was then the *yuvarāja* and had been associated with the administration was crowned in the battle-field[3]. In some cases considerable time elapsed between the accession and inaugration of a king. The details of the inauguration ceromony are interesting. The two most important aspects of the inauguration were the *abhiṣēcana* with holy water[4] purified with by the recitation of Vedic *mantras* by brāhmaṇas[5], a purely religious function and the inauguration proper (*rājasūya*), a partly religious partly secular function of a state ceremony. The king was to protect his subjects and to punish the wicked. For these functions he needed physical strength, force and victorious power. In addition he was expected to secure the prosperity of his people not only by administering justice but also by regulating powers of fertility, by causing rain, welfare and growth of vegetation[6].

The Historical sculptures of the Vikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram and the inscribed labels under each of the panels gives us a detailed picture of the *abhiṣēka* and *rājasūya* ceremonies under the Pallavas[7]. The king was taken in procession to the palace, where he was received by the *mahāsāmantar* (vassals paying tribute to an over lord) *nagarāttār* (townsmen) and *mūlaprakritiyar* (artisans or pesants). Thereafter the *mantri maṇḍalam* (the counsellors), the *ubhaya-gaṇattār*[8] and *ghaṭikaiyar* (those in charge of the *ghaṭikas*), sprinkled the *abhiṣēcana* water and invested him with all the insignia

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3. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.645.

4. A sculptural representation of sacred water being carried for the inauguration is seen at the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple, Kāñcīpuram. C.Minakshi, *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ Temple*, *M.A.S.I.*, No.63, 1941, plate xxi c.

5. The South Indian purification ceremony is reminiscent of the cermony of the holy water sprinkler in Bali. *B.I.TC.*, 1962, pp.12-29 also J. Hooykaas, *Ritual Purification of a Balinese Temple*, 1961, p.61.

6. J.J.Meyer, *Trilogie alt-indischen Machte und Feste der Vegetation*, III, 1937, p.306.

7. *M.A.S.I.*, No.63, 1941, pp.36-37, Plates IV,V d, IX.3, X.1.3, XI.3 and XVI.2.

8. *Ubhaya* in Sanskrit means 'both' or 'both hands'. The term *gaṇa* is used with reference to religious communities, craft guilds and associations. In the Jaina *sūtras*, even individuals form new *gaṇas* Gōdāsa *gaṇa*, Uttaravalissaha *gaṇa*. Manu explains the term as meaning people or guild. (III-164-*Gaṇānām caiva yājakaḥ*). In inscriptions it is used to suggest a group in charge of administration.

of royalty[9]. From other evidence it may be inferred that the prince after his worship in the palace temple and the procession in the chariot along the principal streets[10] was taken to the coronation hall or abhiśēka-*maṇḍapa*[11]. Attention should be drawn to an interesting sculptural representation of a royal *abhiṣēka* from Cambodia[12]. The stone on which the sculpture is found originally formed a lintel of the Vat En Khna and is now in the Albert Sarraut Museum at Hanoi. Under the arch of the Liṅgōdbhava stele is depicted a procession of brāhmaṇas and nobles approaching a central figure from both sides with presents. The central figure wears a high crown and is seated on a throne in *maṇḍapa*. The round pots and narrow necked vessels, which several of them carry in their hands are *pūrṇa-kumbhas*. The *purōhita* to the right of the central figure is lifting the *kumbha* above the head of the latter in the act of pouring the water over his head. The other figure on his left does similarly with a conch. For these reasons the sculpture has rightly been interpreted as an *abhiṣēka*.

Reference to an *abhiṣēka maṇḍapa* in the palace at Kāñcīpuram is made in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I[13]. Royal consecrations were also celebrated in *maṇḍapas* of temples. The kings after Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya were consecrated in the presence of Lord Viśvanātha of Tenkāśi[14]. Kulaśēkhara is referred to as having been consecrated in a *maṇḍapa* in the *vitaraṇa-vinōdan perunteruvu*, which faced the temple of Viśvanātha[15]. The most important act performed during this ceremony was the fixing of the *paṭṭa* around the forehead and the *makuṭa* on the head of the king, on account of which the whole ceremony came to be called *paṭṭābhiṣēka* or *makuṭābhiṣēka*[16]. The *paṭṭābhiṣēka* of Sugrīva is represented in sculputre in the *Rāmāyaṇa* panel of the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakōṇam, built during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. After the king had been invested with all the royal insignia, he started issuing orders in his own name. The suc-

9. *Ep.Ind.*, XVIII, 1925-26, p.117.

10. J.C.Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, 1957 pp. 114, 127, 139, 169.

11. *Also Sahityaratnakara* of Yajnanaryana Dikṣita'. XII, strophes 1-31.

12. *B.E.F.E.O.* XXXI, 1931, p.492 and plate CVII.

13. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, No.73.

14. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, I, 1910-13, Nos. VII, VIII and X.

15. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, No.523.

16. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.523.

cessful completion of wars seems to have been celebrated by special consecrations either in the centre of the defeated enemy or in some important city within the conquered territory. Kulōttuṅga III after his victories in Ceylon, Madurai and Karur celebrated his *vīrābhiṣēka* and *vijayābhiṣēka* at Karur[17]. Maravarman Sundra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1216-1238), who led a successful expedition into the Cōḷa territory performed a *vīrābhiṣēka* in the consecration hall of the Cōḷas at Āyirattaḷi or Muḍikoṇḍa-cōḷapuram.

The practise of beginning stone inscriptions with an account of the preceding events of the ruling king and also of these of preceding kings started in the time of Rājarāja I. The residences of the Pāṇḍyas were Koṛkai and Madurai, while royal thrones called Maḷavarāyan, Kāliṅgarāyan and Pāṇḍyarāyan are known[18]. The Cēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya dynasties each had their own crest and banner. The *Peruntokai*[19] mentions the *śilai* (bow), *puli* (tiger) and *kayal* (fish) respectively as the crests and banners of the three powers. Most of the copper-plate charters of the Pāṇḍyas bear the figure of a pair of fish on their seals. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates[20] and the Karandai plates[21] of Rājēndra Cōḷa have the emblem of the tiger on their seals.

There is no definite evidence of the existence of a council of ministers or of other officers connected with the central government, although there are occasional references to *mantris* and *uttara mantris* in some of the Pāṇḍya inscrptions[22]. Not much information is available about the ministers under the Cōḷas in spite of their innumerable inscriptions. Only the Anbil plates of Sundara Cōḷa[23] refer to a *mānyasaciva* in the person of a brāhmaṇa named Aniruddha:

Sāmaikadāma kakudaṃ dharaṇo surāṇāṃ prēmāgrahāranilayō sty = Anirudha nāmā /
tasyāvanīśamakuṭārppitapādapadmayugmsya mānyasacivo mahanīyakīrtteḥ //

'This king whose lotus feet are placed upon the crests of kings and whose fame is praiseworthy, has a respected minister named Aniruddha who

17. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.632.
18. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, Nos.555 and 546; *S.I.I*, V, 1925, Nos.421 and 440.
19. Published by M.Rāghava Aiyangar, 1906, p.15.
20. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, plate facing p.413.
21. *A.R.Ind.Ep.*, 1949-50, plate facing p.17.
22. *Ep.Ind.* VIII, 1905-06, pp.318-320; *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.248.
23. *Ep.Ind.*, IV, 1919-20, 1925, pp.44-72.

is the chief abode of conciliation and the supporter of Gods and who lives in the agrahāra called Prēma'

Māliruñjōlai of Pūvanūr is described as Cōḷēndra man trin of Kulōttuṅga and as the foremost of the *śūdras* and as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in an inscrption at Peṇṇaḍam[24]. In the Vijayanārāyaṇam inscription of Kulaśēkhara[25] (accession A.D.1190) reference is made to Tuppā Nārāyaṇan, as the son of the prime minister (*mutal amaittan makan*). Ādityadēvan Pallavaraiyan of Perumaṇalūr seems to have served as a minister under Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara and Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya[26]. The history of this minister and others and the part they played in the adminnistration under the Pāṇḍyas are obscure. A numerous and powerful bureaucracy assisted, however, the king in the administration by controlling, supervising or regulating existing orders. Whatever legislation there was took the form of *vyavasthās* by the *sabhā* and *mahāsabhā* according to the accepted codes of *dharma*. The *smritis* and the *śiṣṭhās* commanded the allegiance of social groups more readily than royal mandates that contravened *dharma* and *ācāra*. The king was guardian of the social life and laws of the people, as elsewhere in India. The contemporary inscriptions reveal a good balance between centralised control and local initiative, which is a typical South Indian feature.

The Mānūr inscription of Mārañjaḍaiyan[27] is unique in the insight it gives into the actual working of the autonomous village assembly (*sabhā*) in the *brahmadēya* villages under the early Pāṇḍyas. It refers to the *v̄yavastha* of the *sabhā* of Mānanilainallūr, fixing the procedure to be followed in the meetings of the *sabhā* by laying down the minimum qualification in terms of property, education and character entitling persons to take part in the proccedings of the *sabhā*. It is stated that no king of *vāriyam*[28] (committee work) was to be assigned to a person who did not posess a full share (*muḻu śravanai*) in the lands of the

24. *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, No.271. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* refers to Kulōttuṅga I, while camping at Kāñci, as being surrounded by his ministers good at counsel like the Toṇḍaimān. Edited by R.V.Kannaiya Nayudu, 1944, p.186, verse 327.

25. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, No.15.

26. *Ibid.*, 1922, No.543, also 1899, part II, para 42.

27. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1933-34, pp.5-11.

28. This is one of the earliest uses of the term known in South Indian epigraphy.

village. The Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa[29] also mentions the *vāriyar* of the *sabhā* of Ilaṅgōkkuḍi, which implies that the system of village administration was in operation in the Pāṇḍya area in the ninth century A.D. much earlier than in the Cōḷa area. It is difficult to decide whether these terms in the Pāṇḍya records refer to the committees of the assembly as at Uttaramērūr later in the reign of Parāntaka[30]. They seem to imply the choice of particular individuals for the performance of specific tasks. The *vāriyar* were individual officers carrying out the orders of the *sabhā* rather than an executive committee with the discretionary powers enjoyed by the committees of Uttaramērūr. It is clear from the resolution of the *sabhā* of Mānanilainallūr that no important executive duties could be entrusted to persons without a minimum property qualification.

According to the Mānūr epigraph the meetings of the assembly were summoned by the beating of a large drum (*peruṅkuri śārri*). The assembly met at a fixed hour in a public place as arranged-in this case a *gōvardhana*, probably a Viṣṇu temple[31]. In the case of those holding shares in the lands of the villages taking part in the deliberations of the *sabhā*, only those who were conversant with the *Mantra Brāhmana*[32] including one *dharma* and were of good conduct were allowed to take part in the discussions of the *sabhā*, only one person for each share. It was determined that those who exercised their right of property (*śrāvaṇai puguvār*)[33] acquired by purchase, gift or dowry, could not exercise their right to vote (*paṇikkavum*) in virtue of a quarter, half or

29. *Ep.Ind.*, IX, 1907-1908, pp.84-94.

30. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-05, pp.131-145. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, 1932, pp.96 ff, for a general survey of the administration of Uttaramērūr.

31. The term *gōvardhana* is used in the Uttaramērūr inscription of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman in the sense of a Viṣṇu temple. The relevant portion of the record reads: *emmūr śri- gōvardhanattu mahāviṣṇukaḷukku arcanābhōgamāka.* *S.I.I.*, VI, 1928, No.347.

32. The sacred Vedic hymns and the *Brāmaṇas*. *Mantra* is an instrument of thought, speech or sacred text. The *Chāndōgya Brāhmaṇa* is also called the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa.* *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-05, pp.139 and 142 Sir Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1956.

33. The old Tamil lexicon *Pingaḷam* gives right to property' as a meaning of *śrāvaṇam.* *śrāvaṇa* just as may be taken to denote the right to property. For the inscriptional use of the term in the sense of a unit of land see *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, No.323; *S.I.I.*, VI, 1928 No.347.

three-quarter of a *śrāvaṇai*. Among those who had acquired shares by purchase the *śrāvaṇai* could be awarded to those who had proficiency in an entire Vēda, together with its *pariśiṣtha*, and those who had received a *śrāvaṇai* could take part in the discussions only in accordance with the terms of the settlement (*kaccam*)[34]. In view of this arrangement those who did not posess a full *śrāvaṇai* could not be chosen for any kind of *vāriyam*. Those abiding by this agreement could not say nay and cause obstruction (*kūttukkal*) and their abettors were to be fined five *kāśu* each and even thereafter the terms of the resolution were to be strictly followed and observed. The work of the assembly, when not in session, including the execution of its decisions, was apparently entrusted to the *vāriyar* of its choice. The inscriptions of this period do not give information on the size and duties of the *vāriyam*.

The king's officials enjoyed titles and distinctions such as *mārāyan, araiyan, pēraraiyan, adhirāja, piḷḷai, nāḍāḷyān* and *mūvēndavēḷān*, especially those who distinguished themselves in civil occuptions[35]. Madurāntakappēraraiyan, a prominent official, figures as a donor in the Sucīndram inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[36]. A noble of the king named Śōḷa mārāyan or Vidyādharan of the *peruntanam* status is referred to in another record[37]. The titles *enadi* and *mārāyan* are found very frequently in śaṅgam literature[38]. The true significance of *śiṟutanam* and *peruntanam* officers is not quite apparent. Dr.Hultzsch explained the terms as small and big treasury officers and persons so entitled as officers of the treasury big or small. In all probability, *śiṟutanam* and *peruntanam* were purely honorary titles conferred on officers as well as private individuals according to the status held by them in official positions or in society. The earliest reference to a *pe-*

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34. The term *kaccam* seems to be used in the sense of an agreement. It is probably derived from Sanskrit *kṛtya* / Prākrit *kacca* or *kajja* / Tamil *kacca*. Hargovind Das T.Sheth, *Pāia-Sadda-mahaṇṇavō*, 1928, pp.269-270. The expression *vilaipramāṇa kaccattu* (in the agreed sale deed) occurs in an inscription of Sambhuvarāya. *S.I.I.*, I 1890, No.52.

35. For a detailed disucssion of land grants to vassals and officials in North India (c. A.D.1000-1200) see *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, IV, 1961, pp.70 ff.

36. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, IV, 1924, p.134.

37. *Ibid.*, VI, 1927-28, p.9.

38. *Tolkāppiyam: Poruḷatikāram : purattiṇai sūtra*, 8-63, Edited by S.Bhavānandam Pillai, 1916, pp.189 ff.

runtanam officer is in a record of Rājakēsari dated A.D.961[39]. Śaṅkaraṅ Aḷakiyaperumāḷ Maḷavarāyan of Kāladi was the prime minister of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. His great grand father Maḷavarāyan also held the same office. It is worthy of note that the office of premier and some other offices were usually hereditary and the persons concerned appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them. Maḷuvamāṇikkam Adhirājapunguṛa nāḍāḷvān was another officer of Vīra Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya.[40] Aḷakiyapāṇḍyan was in charge of the affairs of the division Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Vaḷanāḍu under Kulaśēkhara[41].

The twelve prinicipal officials of Sundara Pāṇḍya I were:

1. Gāṅgēyan or Kandan Udaiyañceydān[42],
2. Ayyan Maḷavarāyan[43],
3. Āḷavandān Naratoṅgarāyan, ruler of Niyamam[44],
4. Aḍalaiyūr nāḍāḷvān[45],
5. Kōdai Kandan Kuvalaiyattaraiyan[46],
6. Śīyan Sambandhan, the Adigaimān of Tiruppūvanam[47],
7. Gurukularājan[48],
8. Aḷakapperumāḷ[49],
9. Rāman Pallavarājan[50],
10. Kulaśēkharadēva, the *uttara mantri*[51],
11. Ariyan Tirunāḍuḍaiyān,[52]

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39. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.246.
40. *A.R.Ep., 1924, No.99.*
41. *Ep. Ind..*, XXV, 1939-49, pp.92 ff.
42. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, Nos.152, 153, 165, 176 and 186.
43. *Ibid., Nos.166 and 176.*
44. *Ibid., No.154*
45. *Ibid., No.160*
46. *Ibid.*, No.184
47. *Ibid.*, No.183.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.* Also *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No.216; 1916, No.77.
50. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, No.183.
51. *Ibid.*, No. 176.
52. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, No.166.

12. Ponnan Uyyavandān or Mānābharaṇa mūvēndavēḷān[53], who set up the image of Kūrrāḍundēvar Uyyaninṟāḍu vār (Naṭarāja) in the temple at Tiruppattūr[54].

Little is known of the manner of recruitment for the initial appointment to different grades and for promotion to higher ranks. Birth must have conferred certain advantages in the beginning, though the subsequent career depended largely upon character and talent for distinguished service. It is difficult to form a clear idea of the number of administrative departments during the period of our study. Their number and character must have differed from time to time. The inscriptions of the period mention a number of officials associated with the administration of the capital. From these some idea about the departments of government may be gathered.

An important officer referred to in some of the Tamil inscriptions is the *Tiruvāykkēḷvi*[55] The term literally means 'One who hears what comes from the śrīmukha of the king'. The duty of this class of official was to record in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate these to the executive departments concerned. For almost all royal orders this was the first document on which the subsequent order concerning its execution were based. Another official was the *Tiṟumandira ōlai* (tirumandiram + ōlai) meaning 'an order of the king in council'. The text in the Leiden grant of Rājarāja[56] suggests that the king dictated the order and the *ōlai* took his words down. Although the function of the *tirumandira ōlai* were analogous to those of the *Tiruvāykkē*ḷvi, the difference was that he took down from the king the order issued after a decision had been taken in consultation with the council and that he was a member of the department called *Tirumandira ōlai nāyakam*, in which there was a number of officials whose duty it was to examine and redraft carefully the orders of the king to prevent any technical flaw in the document and also to see

53. *Ibid.*, No.186, also Part II, para 52.

54. *Ibid.*, Part II, para 52.

55. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916 Nos.347, 356, and 341; also *S.I.I.*, II 1916, pp.125, 276 and 300.

56. *A.S.S.I.*, IV, 1886, pp.208-209, 128-129. 'nām śolla nam ōlai eḷutum Amutan Tīrttakāran eḷuttināl'.

that orders did not contradict any previous orders made on the same subject[57].

A very important department of the administration was the *puṛavu vari tiṇaikkaḷam*, divided into a number of departments presided by various officials. The term *puṛavu* has been interpreted in different ways. It has been suggested by Aiyangar[58] that the term denoted a property consisting of land scattered over various localities but still constituting one individual property. In Pallava epigraphy, the term *puṛavu pon*, occurring in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman[59], is to be understood as the tax in money on cultivable lands paid to the government by the land owner. The other term *uṭpuṛavu Dēvadāna* (text line 51) seems to mean *dēvadāna* consisting of all cultivable land which is fit to be taxed. Another Tamil record of Aparājitavarman dated in his fourth year[60] records the gift of the village of Turaiyūr with all incomes consisting of *pon* and *puṛavu* for worship in the Śiva temple at Mātaṅganpaḷḷi by Kāḍupaṭṭi Pēraraiyan of Cēra nāḍu. Here *puṛavu* is the cultivable land of the village and *pon* is the *iṛai* or tax in money on these lands. The phrase *ponnum puṛavum aḍaṅga* implies the same as the negative phrase *iṛaiyili* in other grants. The old commentator to the *Puṛaṇāṇūru* equates the term *puṛavu* with *iṛai*[61] Probably this represent the cess payable on cultivated lands, depending on the extent and nature of cultivation, while the *iṛai* represented the land revenue payable. On the whole Aiyangar's interpretation seems likely. The terms *vari* means tax and *puṛavu vari* may be taken to mean land revenue assessment. It may also denote a revenue accountant, whose duty it apparently was to be in charge of the tax register[62]. *Tiṇaikkaḷam* may be taken to suggest a department and *puṛavu vari tiṇaikkaḷam* may be interpreted as the Department of Land Revenue of the king. For the efficient working of the department, it seems to have been divided into ten sections namely

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57. 'The tirumukkuḍal inscription of Vīrarājēndra in *Ep. Ind,* XXI, 1931-32, pp.220-250.

58. S.K.Aiyangar, *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India,* 1931, p.141.

59. *S.I.I.*, II, part V, 1916, p.509, text line 52.

60. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.31.

61. Edited by U.V. Sāmināthа Aiyar, 1923, pp.154, 382, strophes 75 and 260.

62. *Ep. Ind*, XXI, 1931-32, p.221.

i) *Puṛavu vari tiṇaikkaḷam*, ii) *varippottagam*, (section in charge of the tax register), iii) *kaṇkāṇi* (section where the revenue accounts were checked), iv) *Mugaveṭṭi* (one who engraved the orders of the king), v) *teṛippu* (department of receipts), vi) *turavu śāttu* (department where receipts were issued for payment of revenue), vii) *Paḷaniyāyam* (section dealing with arrears), viii) *variyilīḍu* (section dealing with register entries), xi) *varippottaka kaṇakku* (accountant of the tax register) and x) *paṭṭōlai* (the department in which all the orders of the king were filed)[63] However the terms are so obscure that their correct interpretation is conjectural.

The success of any government depends among other things factors on sound finance, for without it no good government is possible. This was well understood by the kings of medieval South India, as in other parts of India and the treasury was counted as one of the seven elements of the state[64]. The revenue system of the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas while resembling those of the rulers of Northern India in broad outline presents many distinctive features justifying its independent treatment. The material for such a study is scattered in the many thousands of South Indian inscriptions and indigenous literary works. A proper study of the subject is particularly difficult as the terms used in the inscriptions are obscure. There are numerous technical terms such as *kaḍamai, kuḍimai, āyam, antarāyam, araśupēru, magamai, vari, pāṭṭam, iṛai, daṇḍam, maṇṛu*[65] *Veṭṭimuṭṭāval, eccōṛu, kuṛṛariśi, araiśar vāśal vari, peruvari*[66] *karpūravilai, kariyavārātci, puḷḷiccōṛu, kaṇakkuppēru* and *śilavari*[67], which have only slight variations in import. Sometimes in one and the same epigraph taxes and obligations are referred to alongside with contributions of a local or social nature, payable for specific purposes. Such muliplicity of taxes

63. *Ibid.*, pp.221, 245. Another department *Vāśāl kaṇakku* (section dealing with house taxes) is referred to in another record. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No.74; T.V.Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 1955, pp.140 ff for an interpretation of some of these terms.

64. *Vāyu Purāṇa* strophes 57, 69, edited by Rajendralala Mitra, I, 1880, p.481. Cakram rathō maṇiḥ khaḍgaṇ dhanūratnaṃ ca pañcamaṃ Kētur nidhiṃ ca saptaitē /

65. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.507. The king is authorised by Manu to take a sixth part of the produce of the soil and of many other yields, including the spiritual merits of his subjects.

66. *Inscr.Pud.state.* 1929, Nos.245 and 277.

67. *Ibid., Nos.247, 249, 266, 268 and 305.*

recurs throughout the different periods of the history of South India with only slight variations, pointing to the unbroken continuity of the same taxation system.

The different forms of income of the government may be grouped as follows:

1. Land Revenue,
2. Property tax.
3. Poll tax and taxes on arts and crafts,
4. Commercial taxes,
5. Taxes on small industries or trades,
6. Military contributions, and
7. Social and communal taxes and Judicial fines, besides revenue from forests, mines and mint.

The land tax was the main source of revenue of the administrators and the assessment and collection of revenue was one of the chief concerns of the government. The principal feature of the land revenue administration was that only land which was cultivated and which produced a definite yield of crops[68] was assessed after the crops had been inspected and the size of the cultivated area had been dertermined by a standard measuring rod. During the time of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya it was the Sundara Pāṇḍyan *Kōl*[69] or *kuḍitāṅgi*[70], twentyfour spans long. The tax could be paid both in kind and in cash. In the case of wet land, where two crops were raised annually, one in *Paśān* (September-March)[71] and the other in *Kār* (July-Spetember)[72] the dues were collected in two instalments as and when the crops were harvested[73]. The monetary payments were to cover small dues such as *antarāyam, viniyōgam, kāriyavārātei, veṭṭipāṭṭam, pañcupili,* and *sandhivigraha-pēru.* Two inscriptions from Periccikōyil[74] give detailed information regarding the rate of taxation under Sundara Pāṇḍya

68. *A.R.Ep.*, 1929-30, No.275.
69. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.448; *Ep.Ind.*, XXIV, 1937-38, p.169.
70. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1936-37, No.174.
71. Long duration of 160 days from the date of sowing to harvest.
72. Short duration ranging in age between 110 and 120 days.
73. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.38.
74. *Ibid.*, 1924, Nos.73 and 91.

I. The possessions of the citizens of Śiṛuperucciyūr and Kaṉṟāppuṟ (Kaṇḍramāṇikkam) seem to have so much reduced by circumstances (by severe taxation) that they began to feel that life in the woods would be preferable. An order of Kandan Āḷuḍaiyān Gāṅgēyan was issued to them fixing the rate of taxation as follows: On each *mā* of land five *kalam* of five *mēni* quality of paddy and 1 1/2 *tiramam*, half this rate in *Arpasi kuṛuvai* (crop raised in the month of *Aśvina*) and *Śittirai Kuṛuvai* (crop harvested in (*Caitra*) and one-fourth of the rates on land irrigated by *tulā* (baling out water with baskets) and on land where crops such as *tinai (Setara Italicum)*[75] and *varagu (Paspolumscrobiculatum)*[76] and *eḷḷu* (seasamum) and full rate on land where sugar cane was raised. The standard of land measure was altered as the citizens were unable to pay the taxes under the old rates from the fifth regnal year of the king. Whereas formerly one *mā* was made up of eighteen span square, now twenty-four span square were treated as the equivalent of 1/2 *mā* and one *muntirikai*. On cash payment on produce (*antarāyam*), made in *tiramam* coins, the value of the *tiramam* was increased from five *mā* to seven *mā* per *kāśu* and the standard grain measure was also changed from six *kalam* to seven *kalam* and three *kuṛuṇi*. The rates of taxes on the land continued in the same proportion. Only the actual produce of the land was taxed.

From another inscription from Tirunelvēli[77] dated in the fifth year (A.D.1272-73) of Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara it is known that a *mā* of land was the extent of a square field mesuring 288 feet in length, which corresponds approximately to one acre and 90$\frac{1}{3}$ cents. Incidentally, the measuring rod for land during the period was the *padineṭṭaḍi kōl*, the rod eighteen feet in length. Another inscription from Vembanur is an interesting example to prove the co-operative and liberal attitude of the people, for the prosperity of the country. The epigraph[78] records that the revenue expected for the sixth and seventh years of the king's reign from Marudūr in Uraṭṭūr kūṟṟam failed as there was nobody to cultivate the fields. To make good the loss to the State, the whole nāḍu undertook to bear the burden and the villages, towns and the nāḍu of *Kaḍalaḍaiyāda* Ilaṅkaikoṇḍaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu agreed among themselves to give Marudūr to two individuals Madurāntaka - brahamaṛāyan,

75. *Tamil Lexicon*, III, 1929, p.1934.
76. *Ibid.*, VI, 1934-36, p.3507.
77. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.411.
78. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No.357.

otherwise known as Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa, and Tiruvaraṅga Mālibhaṭṭa for providing offerings to the deity at Vembanūr for the prosperity of the country. This was the simplest and most equitable arrangement that could be arrived at under the circumstances. The state was not a loser as it could get the revenues from the villages and as the deficit was distributed over the whole *nāḍu* consisting of many villages, it could not have been a burden on any particular village.

The *kaḍamai iṛukkum kōl*, the standard measuring rod, is referred to again in another inscription of Māṛa varman Sundara Pāṇḍya[79]. On each *mā* of land only 1/4 *kāśu* was levied as monetary payment and the annual assesment of six *kalam* of paddy could not have caused much hardship to the landowner. That three *kalam* of paddy was the prevalent rate of assessment during the period is confirmed by another inscription from Tiruviḍaimarudūr[80] which specifically mentions that five *kalam*, three *kuṛuṇi* of paddy was the asse sment on one *mā* and three *kāṇi* of land. Another inscription[81] mentions that for each *vēli* of land the paddy to be given was 60 *kalam*. Since twenty *mā* was equivalent to one *vēli*, this also gives the same rate. It can be inferred that the landowner had no necessity for immediately converting his produce to pay off the land revenue and taxes. An interesting inscription from Śivapuri[82] dated in the fifth year of Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1273) furnishes details regarding the rights of tenants under the tenure of *kuḍiniṅgā iṛaiyili* and information about the transactions of the *sabhā* of Nṛpaśēkhara caturvēdimaṅgalam. Āryacakravartti had leased certain lands of the Rudrakōṭīśvara temple. The Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple acted as guarantors for the tenancy (kuḍippunai) and the *āṇḍār* acted as sureties for the money payments (*Poruṭ-puṇai*). The village was evacuated as a consequence of a murder of a local brāhmaṇa in the month of *mēṣa* and the dues by the leasee remained unpaid. The *āṇḍār* of the temple had to borrow 350 *paṇam* from the temple of Tiruttāndōnrīśvaram uḍaiyār to discharge the dues and, as mortgage for the borrowed money they gave the lands to that temple, marking out the boundaries with *triśūla* stones. After a time, when the original leases returned along with āryacakravartti and asked for an explanation of the transactions, the trustees of the Śivapuri and Dvārapatīśvaram

79. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.338.

80. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.694, text lines 3-5.

81. *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, No.272.

82. A.R.Ep., 1928-29, No.21.

temples enquired into the whole affair and, after receiving the money due from the defaulters, returned the land to them as *kudiniṅgā iṟaiyili* with the stipualtion that except for the *rājakaram* (tax) of one *kalam* and one *tūṇi* of paddy per *mā* of cultivated land, the balance of taxes should be paid to the Śivapuri temple for its expenses. From this it is clear that the tenants enjoying tax-free land as *kuḍiniṅgā iṟaiyili* were reinstated in their holdings in spite of the serious fact of their flight from the place, leaving the land uncultivated and the dues theron unpaid, if they agreed to discharge fully the liabilities arising from their absence and neglect.

At Kuṟṟālam, eight *mā* of land including the tax dues were valued at 43 *kāśu* in the fourth year (A.D. 1015-16) of Rājēndra I[83]. In the twelfth century, during the period of Rājarāja III, five *vēli* three *mā* and one and a half *kāni*, one *muntiri*, the *kīḻ* of four *mā* of land were sold for 20,700 *kāśu*[84]. And two *Vēli*, eight and a half *mā*, 1/2 *kāṇi*, the *kīḻ* of two *mā* of land for 10,000 *Kāśu*[85]. An inscription of Sundara Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya from Cōḻapuram[86] contains interesting details regarding the sale of land which was communally owned (*podunilam*) by the *sabhā* of Śrīvallabha caturvēdimaṅgalam to the executive officers (*dēvarkanmi*) of the temple at koṭṭār and refers to the conditions for the payment of taxes as *iṟai* and *kārāṇmai*. The Tiruvālīśvaram inscription of Sundara Cōḻa - Pāṇḍya[87] dated in his seventeenth year is a very inportant historical document which gives abundant details and adequate information regarding land revenue administration and officials. It refers to a gift of five *vēli* of land which were purchased from the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam to conduct festivals, to feed twenty-five brāhmaṇas and to recite the *Śivadharma*[88]. The taxes on the land included paddy to be given by the cultivator (*veḷḷān*) as owner's share and money by *uruvu kōl nilaṅkāśu* and *kākṣi erudu kāśu*, possibly as fees for surveying the land and for the supply of manure. The five *vēli* of land were converted into *veḷḷān vagai* and were subject to the

83. *A.R.Ep.*, 1926, No.104.

84. *Ibid.*, 1917, No.246.

85. *Ibid.*, No.247.

86. *Trav.Arch.Ser.* V,1926, No.8, pp.11-13.

87. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.332.

88. Śivadharma, a secondary *Purāṇa*, one of the eighteen *upapurāṇas*. Śivadharmōttara is an *āgama* on Śaiva *dharma* translated form Sanskrit into Tamil verse by Maraijñanasambandhar.

payment of land tax (*iṛai kaḍan*) namely paddy to the amount of 642 *kalam* and five *nāḷi*, besides a monetary payment of 43 *kāśu*. Another inscription from Śermādēvi[89] of the same king is supplementay to this inscription and refers to similar items of income under the heads of *alagerudu kākṣi kāśu, kākṣi erudu kāśu* and *ūr kaḷañju*. The order sanctioning the transfer of land from the *brahmadēya* register to the *dēvadāna* register, as recorded in the Tiruvālīśvaram inscription was issued after the document was signed by twenty-two officers of the king.

During the reign of Rājēndra I, the *veḷḷān vagai* villages fell into two broad classes, one directly remitting the variable annual revenue to the state and another paying dues of a more or less fixed or standardised character to religious institutions such as temples, to which they were assigned. It is difficult to determine which of these was more advantageous to the cultivator.

Collections of money from the public for specific purposes by subscription was prevalent during the period. An inscription of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya dated in his twenty-ninth year[90] refers to the *sabhā* of Kalikkuḍi authorising Accan Māṛṛili a merchant of Kumari (Cape Comorin), to collect subscriptions at their instance in order to meet the expense of food offerings in the temple of Rājarājēśvara and for repairing the breaches in the irrigation tank called kōnāṇḍārkuḷam. Another record from Sucīndram merits attention for the details it gives regarding monetary transactions in the sale of land by the *sabhā* of Sundaracōḷa caturvēdimaṅgalam[91].

The first systematic survey of the cultivable lands in the Cōḷa empire for purpose of assessment was undertaken in A.D.1002 in the reign of Rājarāja I and the errors that crept into the registers were rectified two years later by a fresh survey under the supervision of kuravan Rājarāja maharājan, who had the titles *Ulagaḷandān* and *Tiruvaḍigal śāttan*[92]. The largest revenue unit was the *vēli*, which was divided into smaller units like the *mā, kuḷi, kāṇi, mukkāṇi, araikkāṇi* and *muntirikai*. From the inscriptions of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at

89. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.619.

90. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, I, 1910-13, pp.249-250.

91. *Ibid.*, IV, 1924, pp.132-33.

92. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.223; *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.199; *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1934, No.50.

Tanjore it is learnt that land as small in extent as 1/1600 of a *vēli* was measured for assessment[93]. The smallest denomination used in the Tanjore inscriptions is 1/320 and the smallest fraction that appears is 1/320. 1/640 is, however, expressed as 1/320 of a 1/2. This fraction is possible in a system based upon eighths. The other smaller fraction used is 1/160, *i.e.* twice 1/320. There is no attempt to explain 2/1/320. The reason for chosing 1/320 seems to be connected with a reckoning of eight. To express 1/1600, they use 1/320 of 4/20; and for expressing 3/1280, 1/320 of 1/4 is used, all in multiples of 1/320. The denomination 20 is used to express 1/5 (=4/20), 1/20, 1/40, 1/160 and 1/320. In the case of odd fractions such as 3/20 which could not be expressed in the octaval system, the other system was used. All these show the minute accuracy of these surveys.

A new survey was made in the time of Kulōttuṅga I in A.D. 1086 for unknown reasons. Again towards the close of the reign of Vikrama Cōḷa (A.D.1134), a fresh survey was carried out in certain parts of the Cōḷa empire. Once again, in A.D. 1216, yet another survey was made towards the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The reasons and the nature of these repeated surveys are not known.

In ancient and medieval South India, a property tax seems to have been levied on the whole property irrespective of the income which it yielded. Among the properties taxed were houses, house sites, treasure troves, springs, cattle and carts[94]. Unoccupied houses were exempt from taxation[95]. The rates of taxation, however, varied from time to time.

The self governing village or caturvēdimaṅgalam was the unit of the provincial administrative system of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. A number of these constituted a *nāḍu*. A large-sized village was known as *taniyūr*, comparable with the boroughs of medieval England. A number of *nāḍus* constituted a *vaḷanāḍu*. Above the *vaḷanāḍu* was the *maṇḍalam*. The subordinate divisions underwent changes and were regrouped whenever necessary and proved convenient for efficient administration. Some of the territorial divisions frequently referred to in the inscriptions are Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, Muḷḷi

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93. *S.I.I.*, II, 1916, pp.42-68.

94. *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, No.272; 1919, No.585; 1918, No.91; 1921, Nos.335 and 203;*Ep.Ind.*, VIII, 1905-06 p.304 and *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.373.

95. *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No.59.

nāḍu, Puṛattāyanāḍu, Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu, Uttamaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu and Rājarāja-ppāṇḍinnāḍu. The caturvēdimaṅgalam was a distinct unit with a single class of interest. The villages of Vāgaikkuḍi, Muttūranāraṭṭai, Śirukiḷān kāṭṭur and Miḷakānūr were included in Rājagambhīra-caturvēdimaṅgalam[96]. The Tiruttāṅgal inscription of Kulaśēkhara dated in his ninth year and 216th day[97] registers an order to create a *brahmadēya* village called Kulaśēkhara caturvēdimaṅgalam by grouping together four *dēvadāna* villages around Tiruttāṅgal with the land and house sites allotted to 54 brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the Vedas and Śāstras and capable of expounding them. The village site where the brāhmaṇas were to reside was named Pukaḷ lōkagaṇḍanallūr. Yet another epigraph of Sundara Pāṇḍya II dated in his eighth year and 215th day[98] refers to the fact that the great grandfather of Śrīrāman Aḷakan or Aḷakiyapāṇḍya brahmādhirājan had originally established, in the name of Vēṇāḍu uḍaiyar, a village called Ravivarma caturvēdimaṅgalaṃ and settled in it 48 brāhmaṇas (caturvēdi bhaṭṭas) who were exponents of the Vēdas and Śāstras (*vyākhyātākkaḷāy irukkum)* and twelve bhaṭṭas who had to recite the Vedas in the temple of Tirunelvēli. On a representation from these sixty and recommendation of Maḷavarāyan, one of the king's officers, the king granted all the lands in Kaṇṇanūr or Mānābharaṇappādi, within its specified boundaries and excluding certain old *dēvadāna* and *paḷḷiccandam* lands, to be included in Ravivrama caturvēdimaṅgalam, in order that the sixty persons settled in the village might get sixty shares, while to the temple of Śrīrāma were attributed two shares, to the Pāṇḍimādēvīśvaram two shares and to Toṇḍaimān viṇṇagar[99] āḷvār, one share. It is specifically stated that the previous owners of the land as well as categories of the tenancy rights had been removed so that the whole would constitute one village with one *puravu* and one type of tenure. It is to be noted that the caturvēdimṅgalam was entirely a brahmanic village.

The constitution and formation of another caturvēdimaṅgalam called the Vikrama pāṇḍya caturvēdimaṇgalam is reflected in another record of Jaṭāvarman Sundara pāṇḍya I. It concerns the settlement of 108 brāhmaṇas. For the residential accomodation of these brāhmaṇas

96. *Ep.Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40, p.111, text lines 71-72.
97. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No.543.
98. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.446.
99. for *viṣṇugṛha*.

and their families, as well as the staff in charge of the village library, four *vēli* of land were purchased and set apart as a village site, including the temple premises. Land for grazing the cattle was set apart. The following other allocations were made:

1. 147 $\frac{3}{4}$ *vēli* in Rājakēsarinallūr were acquired to maintain the 108 brāhmaṇas and their families:
2. Three *vritti* for teachers of the Vēdas:
3. One Vṛtti for a teacher of the Sūtras:
4. $1\frac{1}{4}$ *vṛtti* for two doctors:
5. One $\frac{1}{2}$ for the *ambaḍiyar:*
6. One $\frac{1}{2}$ for the village accountant:
7. One $\frac{1}{4}$ for a drummer:
8. One and three eighths for a barber:
9. One $\frac{1}{4}$ for a washerman:
10. $\frac{3}{4}$ for the village watchman:
11. One eighth for the *veṭṭiyān* : and
12. $\frac{3}{4}$ of the *nattam* land outside the village brāhmaṇa quarter for the *veḷḷān kāṇiyāḷar* (cultivating tenants) and the rest for others.

All the taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king's reign, i.e., from the first year of the constitution of the caturvēdimaṅgalam, 500 *kalam* of first-class paddy had to be measured out to the temple at Cidambaram every year[100]. The contents of these inscriptions clearly show that the caturvēdimaṅgalam consisted of brāhmaṇas only, self-sufficient in every way, while other classes of people were given separate accomodation in the *nattam* land to perform specific duties. Therefore the caturvēdimaṅgalam denoted a limited unit having a fixed extent of land, great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights and with old names, previous holdings and the different heads of classification entirely removed and vested and owned by one class as a unit.

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100. *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, No.277; 1914, part II, p.92. For the economy of the Cidambaram temple see V.G. Ramakṛṣṇa Aiyer, *The Economy of a South Indian Temple, 1946, pp.19 ff*

Reference may be made to a royal order of Rājādhirāja I[101] addressed to the officer Sōlapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēḷār to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by the *brā*hmaṇa ūrkaḷ (villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Kāñcīpuram for provision for two Śivabrāhmaṇas performing the duties of *paricāraka*, the arrangements be made by the person in charge of the temple affairs (kōvil śrīkāryam). In the order that was issued the *sabhā*s of Śirukaccipēḍu (Kāñcīpuram), Uttamaśōḷa caturvēdimaṅgalam, Parāntaka caturvēdimaṅgalam, Miḷalai maṅgalam and Aparājita caturvēdimaṅgalam are referred to, showing thereby that the *sabhā* was the governing body in the caturvēdimaṅgalam. The class of village with names ending in caturvēdimaṅgalam consisted exclusively of brāhmaṇa landowners who formed the administrative council called the *sabhā*. From the names preserved in inscriptions it may be observed that there was quite a number of Vedic scholars during the seventh to the thirteenth centuries A.D. in different parts of South India[102].

In the case of the Vikrama Pāṇḍya caturvēdimaṅgalam already cited the number of the donees was 108 while the actual portions made was 147: in the list of the donees, we find more *caturvēdins* than *trivēdins* or *ṣaḍaṅgavid*. In these villages there either were temples or, at least their construction was envisaged for use by the donees. The provision of *vṛttis* for doctors, police and library in the constitution of the village was meant to meet the requirements of education, maintainance of order and health. The foundation of numerous caturvēdimaṅgalam and the grant of *agrahāras* by successive generation of kings of various dynasties of South India, the grants of which have not all come to light certainly indicate the enormous importance of Vedic studies, from the beginning of the sixth to the end of the thirteenth century, almost to the time of Sāyaṇa, the most famous commentator on all the Vēdas.

The Tirunelvēli inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya II[103] registers the grant of a *brahmadēya* to 224 *caturvēdi* bhaṭṭas well-versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras. The village Kūḍalūr in Muṟappu nāḍu was

101. *S.I.I.*,VIII, 1937, No.3; For the costitution of another caturvēdimangalam for 224 bhattas see *Ep.Ind*, XXIV 1937-38, pp 153-172.

102. A list ot these is given in *S.I.I.*., XII, 1943, and XIII, 1953, also *Ep.Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40, p.75.

103. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.448: *Ep.Ind.*, XXIV, 1937-38, pp.154-172.

assigned to them and was renamed as Pōsaḷa[104]. Vīrasōmadēva caturvēdimaṅgalam after the king's uncle Virasōmēśvara[105]. When the new village was constituted, the donees, it is stated in the inscription, desired that the previous owners of the lands, the old names of the villages and their land, their cultivating tenants and the head of classification should be removed and that all these lands being divided into the required number of shares with the right to build houses in the nattam land fit for residence and that the new village should be granted as a *brahmadē*ya. The execution of this procedure involved great effort. The removal of the previous owners must have implied providing them with other sites or awarding them compensation after ascertaining the correct extent of their lands and their yields. The division of the land into equal shares and the entry of the change of classification of tenure in the departmental and village registers must have also taken considerable time.

The ancient name of the village of Tiruvālīśvaram was Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, which was a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi nāḍu, a district of Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu which again was a division of Rājarāja-ppāṇḍi nāḍu. A number of villages appear to have been included in Rājarāja caturvēdimaṇgalam during the time of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas. The modern villages of Ambāsamudram and Kalliḍaikuricci were its southern hamlets, while Pāppānkuḷam and Vēḷārkuṛicci were its northern hamlets. Āḷvārkuṛicci, eight miles from Ambāsamudram formed its north-western hamlet. Four other villages are mentioned as being within the division in the Mannārkōyil inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pandya[106]. The district of Muḷḷi nāḍu in which Śermādēvi was situated belonged to the division of Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanādu, while Tiruvālīśvaram was a subdivision of Muḍikoṇḍaśōla-vaḷanādu. Though the names Mudikoṇḍaśōla and Uttamaśōḷa [107] after which the two subdivisions were named, refer to Rājēndra I, yet there is no doubt that they represent different area as the two names are found in inscriptions of the same period. The villages of Tirunelvēli Kaḷugumalai, Ambāsamudram and the villages near them were originally included in Muḍikoṇḍaśōla vaḷanāḍu, Kanyākumārī, Śermādēvi, Cōḷapuram and Nāgerkōyil were

104. Attention should be drawn to the use of *pōsaḷa* for *hoysaḷa.*

105. K.R. Venkataraman, *The Hoysalās in the Tamil Country,* 1950, pp.15-24.

106. *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, pp.292-298.

107. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*², 1955, pp.227, 261.

included in Uttamaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu, Rājarāja ppāṇḍināḍu was the name applied to the Pāṇḍya country after its conquest by Rājarāja I. It consisted of the *vaḷanāḍus* of Madurai, Tirunelveli and parts of Kērala and Pudukkōṭṭai. Though the Pāṇḍyas had been defeated several times on previous occasions and their dominions acquired by the Cōḷas, the name of their country does not appear to have been altered before the time of Rājarāja I.

The Tiruvālīśvaram pillar inscription of the eleventh century A.D. is unique in that it outlines the military history of the Cōḷa regiment called the *mūṇṛukai mahāsēnai*[108]. It refers to the victories gained by this regiment and records that the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram, its treasury and temple servants were placed under its protection[109]. The reference to a poet of Kālahasti singing the glory of this regiment is interesting. The identity of the poet is uncertain. He may probably be identical with Kālamēghappulavar, who was born in Tirupati, about 15 miles from Kālahasti and who is known to have become a Śaiva after his marriage with Mōhanāṅgi at Jambukesvaram and who lived in the later half of the eleventh century A.D.[110]. But no literary work glorifying these achievements of the regiment has been brought to light so far.

The Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu[111] refers to the three divisions of Vēḷaikkārar namely mahātantrar[112], vaḷanjiyar and nagarattār. The subdivisions into which these were further divided were the *valaṅgai, iḍaṅgai, piḷḷaikaḷ, tanam, vadugar, malayāḷar* and *parivāra koṇḍam* (troupe from the retinue of the king) suggesting the sources for enlistment in the king's army. The origin of the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* is not clear. Legend ascribes it to the design of Karikāla and aso to a famous occasion when two sections of the populations laid their disputes before a Cōḷa king, one party standing to the right hand side of the monarch and the other to the left[113]. The

108.*A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No.120.

109. See above. pp.51-53.

110. *Tirumalai śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara*, I, 1937, pp.71 ff.

111. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 330-338.

112.The *kāraṇavar* of the *tantra* headed by the chief military officers (*sēnāpati daṇḍanāyakattu*) in the imperial service (*śeṅgōl vēḷai-kkarar*) of Dēvēndravallabha figure as donors in a record of Sundara Pāṇḍya I. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.398; *S.I.T.I.*, II, 1954, No.816.

113. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, part II, para 47.

Vēḷaikkāra regiment again is said to have taken over and protected the temple of the Tooth Relic and its establishment and renamed the temple *Mūṉṟukai-tiruvēḷaikkāran daladāy perumpaḷḷi.* Two other inscriptions from Ceylon also refer to the *mūṉṟukai* regiment[114]. Wijesinha's suggestion[115] that they were mercenaries employed by the Sinhalese in the eleventh century is untenable as there is sufficient evidence to show that they belonged to the regular standing army of the Cōḷas. The epithet *tiru* applied to the vēḷaikāra regiment, the renaming and subsequent protection of the temple of Tooth Relic are some reasons for maintaining that the vēḷaikāras formed part of the Cōḷa standing army[116]. Another Tamil inscription from Dangur in Mysore dated in the reign of Rājādhirāja (A.D. 1050) refers to the *valaṅgai vēḷaikkārar* and *nānādēśi*[117]. Other groups of the army frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the period are the *Sundara śōḷatteṟindra vēḷār*[118], *Teṉṉavan Āpattutavikaḷ* (helpers of the Pāṇḍya king in times of distress), *Paḍaikāvalar* and *Perumpaḍaiyar*[119]. We do not get any details of the methods of recruitment or the numbers of the troops in the army. Under Rājarāja I it seems to have been divided into thirty-one regiments, as is borne out by his inscription on one of the walls of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore[120]. The commander of the local garrison at Sucīndram named Tiruveṅkaṭa etti is referred to as a *paḍaittalaivan* (head of the troops) in an inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[121]. The Tiruvālīśvaram inscription[122] of the same king dated in his 21st regnal year (A.D. 1054) refers to another *paḍaittalaivan* named Nāśakan Kūḷvāṇai, who seems to have served under Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya as well[123]. The brāhmaṇas who distinguished themselves in war in the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya periods were given the title of *brahmādhirājar.* It may be noted that many army lead-

114. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, Nos. 610 and 612.

115. *Mahāvaṃsa,* translated from the Original Pali into English for the Government of Ceylon, 1909, chapter IX, pp.91, 102 and 170.

116. Geiger, W., *Cūlavaṃsa,* Part I, translation, 1929, p.217.

117. *Mys. Arch.Rep,* 1920, p.31.

118. *A.R.Ep.*, 1930, No.395.

119. *Ibid.*, 1917, Nos.39, 395, 433 and 532.

120. *S.I.I.*, II, 1916, Introduction p. 9.

121. *Trav. Arch.Ser.* IV, 1924, pp.134-135.

122. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.330

123. *Ibid.*, No.328.

ers were brāhmaṇas. Parākrama Nārayaṇa brahmādhirāja was the *daṇḍanāyakam* officer of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya[124]. Another *Sēnāpati* of Uḍaiyār Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya was Śankaran of Uttamaśōlanallur [125]. The mention of Vīrakāvalar *kōṭṭai* (fort) in an inscription from Tiruvālīśvaram issued by Sundara Pāṇḍya I in A.D. 1220 is significant[126]. It was fortification used as a defence for guarding the town and temple of Tiruvālīśvaram. Rājarāja-erivīra-paṭṭaṇam was the name given to the military quarter of Tiruvālīsvaram according to some of the inscriptions[127]. Erivīra-paṭṭaṇam was probably a fortified mart with a regiment. An inscription of Rājādhirāja from Basinikoṇḍa dated in his 32nd regnal year suggests this interpretation, while it refers to these conversion of the village of Śiruvalli into a *nānād ēśīya daśamuḍi* erivīra-paṭṭnam[128]. It registers that 1500 merchants of the four quarters including the *nāḍu, nagara,* and *nānādēśi* met at Śiruvalli and resolved to convert the village into an erivīra-paṭṭnam and grant certain privileges to the residents. The Karṣaṇapalle inscriptions[129] refers to Muttkūru as an erivīra-paṭṭaṇam and records that the revenue realised from the taxes on oil mills was granted to the temple of Aṅgakāra Īśvaramuḍaiyār by the officer Śōḷakulakaraṇa Mūvēndavēḷān in order to 'secure strength to arms of the emperor'. This surely indicates that erivīra-pattaṇam was some kind of a military cantonment.

Several other military institutions in the Pāṇḍya country are referred to in the inscriptions of the period. A class of men called *munai-eḍir mōgar* whose commanders (*daḍanāyakam śeyvār*) made gifts to two temples in Kīḷappa ḷuvūr in Tirunelveli district, are referred to in inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya I[130]. The term *daṇḍanāyakam* suggests that they may be a military body and this is made clear in another record of Vikrama Pāṇḍya in which the name *Teṇṇavan Āpatt-udavigaḷ* is given to them[131]. This body is also referred to in inscriptions of

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124. *Ibid.*, No. 627
125. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp.132-133.
126. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.348.
127. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.360, 365 and 371.
128. Ibid., 1912, No.342.
129. *Ibid.*, No.321.
130. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, Nos. 390 and 394.
131. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.395.

Kulaśēkhara[132] and Śrīvallabha[133] all from Kīḷappaluvūr. This military institution was similar to the community called *paḍaikkāṇavar* and *Porumpaḍaiyar*[134]. Śōḷan kuṇṟan of the 'iraṇaśiṅga vīratteṟinda villigaḷ a company of bowmen or archers of the battalion stationed at Naralōkavīranallūr is mentioned in the Naṅgunēri inscription of Śrīvallabha dated in his fourteenth year[135]. The *perumbaḍaiyar* and *valaṅgai-māsēnaiyār* were contingents of the Pāṇḍya army stationed at Peruṅguḷam during the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I. The *perumpaḍaiyar* appear to have had the same corporate existence and status of a *sabhā* and was composed of representatives from several regiments or battalions of the army. Eight representatives of this group are referred to in one of the inscriptions[136].

The military accountant (*paḍaikaṇakkan*) was the scribe of another inscription[137]. A military cantonment called *Ārāycci nāyakam murpōr paḍu valavam- uḷḷiṭṭa perumpadai* figures prominently in inscription from Peruṅguḷam[138]. The board seems to have been invested with powers to sell and acquire land, as recorded in another epigraph[139] where private persons are said to have purchased land from the body called *murpēr paḍaiyār*. The *māḍi-chēvagar* or rampart guards of the time of Saḍaiyamāran (tenth century A.D.) in the Pāṇḍya country are referred to in an inscription from Ukkirankōṭṭai[140]. Teṉṉavan Pallavadarayan was a *mahānāyaka* of Kaḷakkuḍi under the king and is stated to have erected an *ambalam* called *nagarattān* for the use of the citizens., (*nagarattar*) settled by him in Rājasiṃha *pēraṅgāḍi*, a bazar, probably named after Rājasiṃha, which was newly constituted by him in front of the palace. He further made endowments for the upkeep of the *ambalam* and its lighting by presenting a series of chain lamps (*tuḍar viḷakku*). The sheep required for the lamp were left with

132. *Ibid.*, No.391.
133. *Ibid.*, No.396.
134. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, p.112.
135. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927-28, No.265. For a discussion of *Sēnāmukattār* in the Tamil inscriptions of Siam see *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp.337-339.
136. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, No.232, text in p.68.
137. *Ibid.*, No.242.
138. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, No.229.
139. *Ibid.*, No.241.
140. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, No.19.

Nakkan Munnūrruvan and Venravāypōśi, who were both connected with the army stationed there.

The *nānādēśi-ttiśai àyirattaiññūrruvar*, a very old administrative and traditional organisation of Rājēndra cōḷa-maṇḍalam, acting as a check on royal absolutism, is referred to in an inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya from Ambāsamudram[141]. The interepretation of the term *nānādēśi-ttiśai-Ayirattainnūrruvar* has hitherto been unsatisfactory. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri[142] has interpreted it as a body of 500 instead of 1500. The body of 1500 is a distinct and different organisation from that of 500 mentioned in the inscription from Lubuk Tua in Sumatra dated Śaka 1010 (A.D. 1088) in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I[143] The inscription cited by Sastri in support of his conjecture refers only to the body of 1500 : *nāṅku tiśaiyāyirattaiññūrruva perunāḍu*[144]. An inscription dated Śaka 888 (A.D.966) mentions Īśvara Piccan of *àyirattaiññūrruva-nagara*, who made a payment in gold as a contribution towards removing the encumbrances of a lake called Paramaṇḍalāditya-ppērēri, excavated by Ānaiyamman, the son of the Lāḍa chief Taṭṭāḷan[145]. Another record from Pirānmalai[146] gives a detailed account of the *āyirattaiññūrruvar*. They claim to be the children of Vasudeva and Mulabhadra and to have worshipped the Goddess Bhagavatī or Aimpolil Paramēśvari also referred to as Kandali or the Supreme One according to the *Tolkāppiyam*. It should be noted that the text of the record does not contain the term *nānādēśi*[147]. The *nānādēśi*, however, figure in an inscription of queen Līlāvati from Ceylon (A.D.1197-1200)[148] as the builders of a *māṣisa*[149], for the supply of spices in the neighbourhood of the alms house (*dānaśālā*). The *vaṇig-gaṇas*, the followers of Trapussaka and Valhuka, who built

141. *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, No.82.

142. *TiJdschr.Bat.Gen.* LXXII, 1932, pp.314-327.

143. *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 1934, pp.614-618.

144. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.342.

145. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1940-41, No.13.

146. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.442. The presence of similar merchant guilds and their acquisition of important trading concessions during the reign of Kīrtti Nissankamalla in Ceylon is confirmed by the Analundava slab inscription. *Ep.Zeyl.*, II, 1928, pp.235-238 and plate.

147. *J.I.H.*, XXV, 1947, pp.276-77.

148. *Ep.Zeyl.*, I, 1912, p.180 and plate; text, line 19.

149. *Ibid.*, text, line 20. The real meaning of the term is not clear.

the Girikkaṇḍi *caitya* mentioned in the Triyāy rock inscription[150] of the seventh-eighth century A.D. seem to have been the predecessors of the *nānādēśi* groups of merchants in Ceylon. Again the Vaiṣṇava temple at Pagan in Burma was built by *nānādēśis* and consisted of Vaiṣṇavas of various countries established there[151]. The Basinikoṇḍa epigraph of Rājādhirāja already cited clearly mentions that the special congregation of the body of merchants consisted of 1500 representatives of all *samayas* (religious denominations) coming from the four and eight quarters and also their followers, among whom were the *erviras, munaiviras, ilañjigaviras, koṅgalavas* and various other sects such as the *valaṅgai* and *kaikkōḷar*. The Daḷapatisamudram inscription of Māṛañjadaiyan dated in the sixth opposite the thirty-fifth year (i.e. the 41st yeat)[152] refers to the provision made by Vēḷān śāttan for lighting lamps and for the maintainence of employees in two water-sheds, one called *Rājākkaḷ taṇṇīr perumpandal* in the name of the Rāja of Koṭṭār and the other called *Muṇṇūrrva perumpandal*, probably named after the assembly of the locality consisting of three hundred members. The opening of water-sheds at convenient intervals along important highways was a popular form of benefaction. The identity of Mārañjaḍaiyan is to be established by future research and discovery of fresh evidence from the epigraphic side. A *madhyastha* of the village of Nandivarma-maṅgalam under Parāntaka I was named Nālāyirattimunnūṛṛuvan also known as Candraśēkhara Aramayindan in an inscription from Kumaravayalūr[153]. He was probably a member of the institution called the *Nālāyiratti-munnūrruvar* (4300).

It should be noted that these merchant guilds in medieval South India were free from ideas of monopolies backed up by the state and by a powerful fleet. This was both their glory and the cause of their decline. The merchants had freedom of initiative and were capable of voluntary organisation. Though the state encouraged the merchants to engage in foreign trade, it did not give them the strong backing as the case with the trading companies of the west in a later period.

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150. *Ep.Zeyl.*, IV, 1943, pp.197-198.

151. *Ep.Ind.*, VII, 1902-1903, pp.197-198.

152. *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, No.12; *A.R.Ind.Ep.*, 1958-59, No.282.

153. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1936-37, No.149. An *ainnūṛṛuvan maṇḍapa* was built by Perumāl Viṭankan, a merchant in the reign of Rajaraja I. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1936-37, No.138.

Neither the merchant nor the state had any idea of the possibilities of economic imperialism, backed by the grant of monopolies.

One of the subjects that attracts attention in the course of a study of inscriptions is the Ancient South Indian temple with its corporate life and polity. It was a powerful social and economic centre besides being a place of religious worship. In addition, it stimulated intellectual and artistic activities. What immediately interests us in this survey are the principles of temple management and administration, as reflected in the contemporary inscriptions of the period. By its origin and nature the temple was a corporation founded with the full co-operation of the local population and enjoying a very large and devoted patronage of the ruling king and subordinates. It was the only institution common to both the ruler and the ruled, enjoying the fullest advantages of thier co-operation. Royal patronage took many forms among which the most common was that of granting villages or their revenues to the benefit of the temple, or to provide opportunities for the teaching and recitation of the Vedas, the *Tirujñāna* and *Śivadharma* as also for the provision of music and fine arts. The centre of Indian artistic life in the past was the temple.

Generally every temple was managed by a committee of trustees, the *sthānattār*. In the time of Rājarāja, a committee of eight members called the *maṇṛāḍi vāriyam*, to which the work of inspecting the produce of temple land and conducting festivals with the income from the *mēlvāram* received from the tenants was assigned[154]. In cases where there was no particular committee for this purpose, the village assembly or *sabhā* acted as the trustees for the charities connected with the temple. These were not as rule, in the hands of a few managers. There were cases in which money intended for certain specific purposes in the temple were left in the custody of Śivabrāhmaṇas or Vaikhānasas. The temple officials mentioned in the Peruṅguḷam Inscription of Śaḍaiyamāran included the following bodies:

1. Śaṭṭapperumakkaḷ (legal advisers);
2. Aganāḷigaiyār (those whose duties were inside the *garbhagṛha*);
3. Paḍiyaṛ;
4. Pancācāriyar (the five *ācāryas*); and
5. Uvaccar (drummers).

154. *A.R.Ep.*, 1923, No.60; part II, para 30.

Palaeographically the record may be assigned to the tenth century A.D., and the king may be identified with Rājasiṃha III[155].

Just as the temple was administrated by its own committee or by the *sabhā*, the central shrine (*garbhagṛha*) was occasionally administered by a committee which would at times borrow money to discharge certain obligations to the temple including the donations made collectively to the temple on its behalf, and take up other responsibilities. Similarly the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*) was sometimes a committee. The committee was not merely a receiving and disbursing body. It possessed administrative powers to sell temple land on suitable occasions. The surplus funds in the temple treasury were in some cases utilised for special purposes either with the consent of or at the suggestion of the *sabhā*. The temple bought and sold land in the same way as any property owner and kept strict accounts of its assets and liabilities. There were a few cases of embezzlement and enquiry by Royal commission in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya times and even later. The brāhmaṇas, while held in great reverence for their knowledge and detatchment were certainly not exonerated when they erred[156]. Even the *sabhā* seems to have been punished for wrongs as is evidenced by the statement 'sabhayōrai daṇḍiccu' in an inscription from Naṅgavaram[157]. The Sucīndram inscription dated in Kollam era 404 (A.D. 1228) refers to the re-organisation of the temple into eight divisions and stipulates the conditions of service of the members of these divisions[158] An examination and close study of the text of the inscription, which is unpublished, would throw considerable light on the administration of the temple. The *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas (śivabrāhmaṇas of the eight division) constituted the important administrative body of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple as is evidenced by the numerous inscriptions[159] referring to

155. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, Nos.216,219,220,227 and 228. Peruṅguḷam, eight miles from Koṛkai is one of the eighteen sacred places in the Pāṇḍya country and is also known as Tirukkuḷandai. *Ep.Ind.*, XXI, 1931-32, p.108.
156. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921-22, Nos.218 and 219 of the time of Rājarāja I.
157. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.652.
158. *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1958-59, p.67 No.27.
159. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.339, 359, 361 and 367.

them, besides the *dēvarkanmi, śrīmāhēśvara-kaṇkāṇi, śrīkāryam*[160], *āḷum gaṇattār* and *mahāsabhaiyār*[161].

The temple, wherever necessary, farmed out or commuted its revenue and leased out its land perpetually to private individuals receiving reasonable advance payment and agreeing to receive a certain fixed amount annually thereafter. During the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I the share of the temple taxes was two *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, one *patakku* of paddy for every *mā* of land measured by the *kuḍitāṅgi kōl* and half this rate for summer crops[162]. The temple transferred at will to one class of persons, the obligations previously set upon another group of society, while in a few other cases, the communal maintenance of a charity was agreed upon in spite of odds. If necessary, again, the communal responsibility could be discharged and the charity entrusted to an individual. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya defined the activities of the temple at Śrīraṅgam, and reorganised the administration of the temple, which was hitherto governed by a body of ten members belonging to the *Kōvanavar kottu* and increased the wealth of the temple, by making additional benefactions. The increase in the wealth necessitated closer supervision and a change in the management under a body of ten, two from the *Kōvaṇavar*, two from *Śriraṅgamaraiyōr*, one from *talai-iḍuvār*, one from *vāśal-ārivar* and two from *Araṭṭi mukki aṇukkar* (military officers)[163]. A leap to death from a temple *gōpura* by a priest Periyālvār who desired to effect a change for the better administration of the temple is recorded in an inscription from Śrīraṅgam[164].

The group of temple servants was collectively known as *ṭaḷi-parivāram*[165], which included everyone from the *arcakas* to those who picked flowers for worship. The strength of the *parivāram* depended upon the wealth of the temple[166].The *dēvakanmis* attached to Śiva temples were generally known as Śivabrāhmaṇas. Their duties included bathing of the deity, decorating him with flowers, prepara-

160. *Ibid.*, Nos.334, 335, 338, 362, and 367.

161. *Ibid.*,1905, No.115.

162. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, No.254.

163. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1938-39, No.84.

164. *Ibid.*, 1937, No.87.

165. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, Nos.522 and 523; VIII, 1937, No.525.

166. *S.I.I.*, VI, 1928, No.595, text, line 38: *dvādaśa dēvakarmibhyah.*

tion of *naivēdya* and the recitation of *mantra* during the worship and also receiving gifts in kind such as oil and ghee for *nundā viḷakku*[167]. Great care was bestowed on the choice of Śivabrāhmaṇas and *arcakas*. A record of Nandivarman[168] testifies to this : *parāyaṇamārgaṃ vēdaṃ vallānāyuktanākiya brāhmaṇan brahmacāriyai*. The other members of the *parivāram* were the readers of *Śivadharma*, *Tirunjñāna*, and the *uvaccar* and *māṇikaḷ* (students attached to the *maṭhas*)[169] and the *Śaṭṭaperumakkaḷ*.

It seems that the South Indian temple in ancient times had in some respects the function of a modern registry office but with greater chances of its records being preserved for a longer time than at present. This must have been the reason why inscriptions previously engraved on the walls of the temples were scrupulously re-engraved when the structure was rebuilt or renovated under official supervision. It is also to this habit of registration, which is based upon a true business-like attitude and historical conscience, that the research student owes so much of his accurate knowledge of the past and for which he cannot feel too thankful.

There are numerous references to royal patronage of the dramatic arts and dance such as *Āryakūttu* (themes from Sanskrit *Purāṇas*). *Śākkai kūttu*, *Rājarājēśvara - nāṭaka* and a theatre called *nānāvida-nāṭya-śālai* in the inscriptions of the Cōḷas. Two inscriptions from Āttūr in Tirunelvēli district refer to a theatrical hall (*nāṭaka-śālai*), attached to the temple and to a troupe of actors who were to enact dramas on the occasion of the *Āvaṇi* festival in the temple. A gift of land made to an actress for performing dance during the intermissions of the drama is also mentioned[170]

The requirements of a single *poḷudu* in a South Indian temple during the period under review is given in detail in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa[171]. The following items were required: four *nāḷi* of clean superior rice, one *uri* of a split green-gram for *kummāyam* (denoting something which was pounded; the root *kummu* in Kannaḍa and Malayalam means 'to beat with a pestle'), one *uḷakku* of cow's

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167. *S.I.I*, VIII, 1937, No.308
168. *Ibid.*, VI, 1928, No.355, text, lines2-3.
169. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No.525, text, line 25.
170. *A.R.Ep.*, 1930, Nos.444 and 445.
171. *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1907-08, pp.84-94.

ghee of the best quality for *nivēdanam*, one *uri* of curd, four black plantains, one *palam* of sugar, ten *palam* of vegetables for *kaṛi-amutu*. According to Rājēndra's inscriptions at Tanjore pepper, mustard and salt were required for this preparation[172]; two *puḷiyaṅkari*, made of pepper, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horsegram and plantain; one *puḷukku kari* (boiled curry in distinction to *poṛikaṛi* or fried curry) and one *poṛikaṛi* (vegetables fried in ghee), five kinds in all, one *ālākku* of cow's ghee for seasoning and frying vegetables, one *uri* of cow's ghee for *kūṭṭu* (a liquid preparation consisting of vegetables cooked with beans or gram), two *śeviṭṭu* of *kāyam* (asafoetida), two bundles of betel leaves, ten areca nuts and one *śeviṭṭu* of lime. This clearly shows that much labour, money and attention would have gone in into the provision of a food offering in a temple. The details of the annual requirements of the temple referred to in the Ambāsamudram inscriptions suggests that a *kalam* of paddy consited of 90 *nāḷi* instead of 12 *kuṛuni* or 96 *nāḷi* as found in the Tanjore inscriptions. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuṛuni* and a *kuruni* equalled six *nāḷi*.

The prescribed duties of the *dēvaraḍiyār* in the temple included the washing of the temple premises and the pounding and cleaning of rice required for the food offering in the temple[173]. Evidently their work as servants of God was more of the nature of manual labour than of mere coquetry. Instances of *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* being honoured with special privileges such as waving fly whisks before the deity are known[174]. Appreciation of their services was recorded by convening special meetings of the assembly of *mahēśvaras* of the eighteen districts[175]

On the whole, it appears that the administration of the temples and the nature of their beneficient activities in the uplift of the moral and intellectual stature of the community were laid on benovelent and democratic foundation[176]. Monarchy flourished with great success since the kings divested themselves of the unseemly temporal pomp and splendour in the interests of the people and were blessed with

172. *S.I.I.*, II, 1916, No.26.

173. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.370.

174. *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 107, para 4.

175. *Ibid.*, 1924, No.33

176. It is interesting to compare the management of temple estates in Asia Minor. T. Robert. S. Broughton, 'New Evidence on Temple Estates in Asia Minor' in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History,* 1951. pp.236-250.

faithful civil and military officers ever vigilant to detect and punish wrong doers either in the temporal or spiritual sphere of activity.

Excellent data for the reconstruction of the economic conditions of the period in the Pāṇḍya country are furnished by the Tiruccendūr *inscription of Varaguṇa*[177]. It records that the king, who was a devout worshipper of Subrahmaṇya, provided 1400 gold *kāśu* for the annual requirements of the temple. This amount was divided into sixteen unequal shares and invested with different bodies namely the *ūrār* of *Ālambattam in Gaṅgai*-maṇḍalam, the *nagarattār* of *Mānavīra*-paṭṭaṇam in Valudi-vaḷanāḍu, the *sabhā* of Kāttārimaṅgalam in Śrīvallabha vaḷanāḍu, the *sabhā* of Tummi in Paraśumaṅgalam, the *sabhā* of *Māramaṅ*galam in *Parāntaka vaḷanāḍu*, the sabhā of Avanipāśekharamaṅgalam in Amṛtaguṇa vaḷanāḍu and sabhās of Puḷiyiḍai, Kīranūr, Ṣaḍaṅgavikuricci and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam all situated in Kuḍa nāḍu. These bodies were to pay annually interest at the rate of two *kalam* of paddy for one *kāśu*, to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. The rate of interest works out only to ten%, much less than the rate authorised by Vasiṣṭha and Manu[178]. The *nagarattār* probably indicates a commercial guild as distinct from the *ūrār*, and the *sabhā*, which were non brahmanic and brahmanic assemblies in the villages, entrusted with certain administrative powers. A fine, which was variable and in some cases as high as 20% of the capital plus the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon was levied in case of default and paid into the temple. This was intended to safeguard the performance of the various functions in the temple. The purchasing power of a gold *kāśu* as gleaned from the inscription was about ten *kalam* of paddy. Again a *kāśu* could pay for the following quantities of other articles: 1000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 pounds of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāḷi* of *kāyam* (Asafoetida), 1220 *paṟṟu* of betel leaves, 10, 100 areca nuts, 150 *nāḷi* of flowers, 15 *kalañju* of camphor and 112 *nāḷi* and one *uri* of turmeric. By an analysis of the details and figures given in the record, the following table of money, weight and measures of the period may be made out.

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177. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1938-39, pp. 101-116.

178.VII-140- *Nāradīya*-IV-99.

Money:

10 pon or 10 kāṇam = 1 kāśu[179]

Weight:

10 kāṇam = 1 kaḷañju

100 palam = 1 tulām (Approximately 24 pounds)

Measures :

10 śeviḍu or 2 āḷākku = 1 uḷakku

2 uḷakku = 1 uri

2uri = 1 nāḷi

6 nāḷi = 1 kuruṇi

15 kuruṇi =1 kalam

Number:

4 aḍukku = 1 paṟṟu

The coins current during the period are referred to in the inscriptions as *kaśu, ānai accu, tiramam, kāśunirai pon, kaḷañju* [180] and *anṟādu naṟpaḷaṅkāśu*[181] *anṟādu naṟpudukāśu, pañcaśalākai accu, śōḷiyankāśu* and *ViraPāṇḍyan-kāśu.*[182]. The rate of interest was two *kalam* of paddy per annum per *kāśu*, being higher than the prevalent rate at Tanjore, namely three *kuruṇi* of paddy per *kāśu* in the reign of *Rājarāja*, if the value of the kāśu remained the same in both the periods. *At* Kāñcīpuram the rate of interest during the period of a Parakēsari was 15%. A century earlier it was 5% in the same area. An inscription of Kampavarman dated in his ninth year mentions that the village of Orukkaipākkam had to pay one *kaḷañju* and four *mañjāḍi* of gold per annum as interest on 24 *kaḷañju* of gold. As one *mañjāḍi* was 1/20 of a *kaḷañju*, the rate of interest works out to 5%. In all the Tanjore inscriptions the interest rate works out to $12\frac{1}{2}$%. In the sixteenth year of Parāntaka I, the residents of the four different quarters of Kāñcīpuram received 200 *kaḷañju* of gold for which they had to pay

179. The ancient Tamil works of the Sangam period refer to the *kāśu*, *kāṇam* and *pon* among the coins current in South India. For details of salaries of various classes of people and prices of commodities in Ancient India see J. Auboyer, *La Vie Quotidienne Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, 1961.pp. 148-150.

180. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos. 348 and 367; 1909, p. 80; 1910, p.97.

181. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, Nos. 249, 266 and 268.

182. *Ibid.*, Nos.302, 367, 376 and 379.

an interest of 30 *kaḷañju*, the rate being 15%. The interest on 250 *kaḷañju* was 500 *kāḍi* of paddy and 150 *kāḍi* on 50 *kaḷañju* of gold[183].

An inscription from Kāmaraśavalli gives the rate of assessment on articles of merchandise which were sold by measures, weights and peices, and the income derived therefrom were utilised to meet the cost of repairing the temple. The residents of the eighteen subdivisions of the seventy-nine vaḷanāḍus had assembled and agreed on the following rates of taxes: $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇam* on each bundle of female apparel, $\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇam* on each *podi* (head load) of pepper, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* on each *podi* of areca nuts, $\frac{1}{4}$ *paṇam* on each gold peice (pon) tested by rubbing, two *kāśu* on each *podi* of rice, one *kāśu* on each *podi* of paddy and one *kāśu* on each *podi* of any other commodity[184].

The right of collecting taxes on certain items of produce was conferred by Parākrama Pāṇḍya upon Vijayadēva as a remuneration for his duties as *pāḍikāval*.[185] The rate of collection was one *kalam* of paddy on every *mā* of cultivated land, $\frac{1}{16}$ *paṇam* on every areca palm, five *paṇam* on each *mā* of cultivated land, where sugarcane, *koḷundu*, ginger, gingelley and plantain were raised and two *paṇam* a year on each house *(Vāśal)*. The rate of collection on crops during the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I in the Pudukōṭṭai area was two *kalam* of paddy and $\frac{1}{4}$ *tiramam* for winter crops including sugarcane on each *mā* of land, one *kalam* of paddy and $\frac{1}{8}$ *tiramam* for the short term crops raised in the months of *Āḍi* and *Arpaśi* (Āṣāḍha and Aśvina) and one *tūṇi* and $\frac{1}{16}$ *tiramam* for seasamum, *tinai* and *varagu*[186].

The economic condition of the people seems to have been prosperous for only very rarely do we find references to famines or funds directed towards alleviation of famine conditions in the inscriptions of the period. An inscription of Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍān from Tirukōyilūr refers to a *paṭṭini-pakuti* or famine fund[187].

A brief survey of the judicial administration of the period may be given. Justice like legislation was to a large extent a matter of local concern and the village assembly (*sabhā* or the *ūr* as the case may be), with the help of the special commitees, the *nyāyattār*, excercised

183. G.O. No.452, Public dated 10 june 1891, Epigraphy, p.5.

184. *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No. 88; also part II, para 36.

185. *Ibid.*, 1921, No. 407.

186. *Inscr. Pud.State*, 1929, No.294.

187. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No. 936, text, Lines 7-8

considerable powers in its administration. The traditional nature and account of Manu Cōḷa rendering justice to a cow, whose calf was run over by a chariot of the prince as contained in the *Periyapurāṇam* is reflected in an inscrption of Vikrama Cōḷa (A.D.1118), from Tiruvārur[188].

Public opinion was invited as a healthy factor in the deliberations of the *sabhā* when it set to decide disputes during the period of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The dispute in point pertained to the right of worship in the temple of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷēśvaram between Kanakasabhāpati bhaṭṭa, Vṛṣabhavāhana bhaṭṭa and Tiruvanantīśvara bhaṭṭa, as recorded in an inscription from Uḍaiyārguḍi[189].

The latter two produced sufficient evidence to show that they had been enjoying the right from the times of Kulōttuṇga II, Rājarāja II, Tribhuvanavīradeva, Rājarāja III, and upto the eleventh year of Sundara Pāṇḍya. Kanakasabhāpati bhaṭṭa was also asked to prove his case. The final settlement is, however, not known as the stone on which the record in engraved is damaged in several places. But in the assembly that met to decide the dispute, there were amongst others, who sat, pilgrims from many districts and citizens from other parts of the kingdom.

Three inscriptions of Jaṭāvaraman Sundara Pāṇḍya, all dated in his eleventh year give adequate details regarding criminal law administration in the Pāṇḍya country during the thirteenth century A.D. They register the confiscation of all the property, including a village Karuvērkuricci, houses, gardens male and female servants belonging to Śattiyanāvan, who had escaped after the murder of Vāmana bhaṭṭa with the help of his armed accomplices on the night of the 25th day of *Arpaśi* (Aśvina) while he was returning from the temple. The confiscated properties were added as *tirunāmattu kāṇi* to the temple of Cokkanārāyaṇa.

The second inscription refers to this incident and adds that the murderer was killed by the victim's party and also enumerates the rates of taxes due on the confiscated land belonging to Dēvargaḷ nāyan, an accomplice of Śattiyanāvan to be paid into the temple and the *sabhā*.

The third inscription records the decision of the *sabhā* to return to Śattiyanāvan Śēramalaiperumāl, the son of the accused, all the property

188. *Ibid.*, V, 1925, No. 456.
189. *A.R.Ep.*, 1920, 571, part II para 40

belonging to Śattiyanāvan which were confiscated, against a payment of 800 *pon* and certain taxes on the land to the temple in response to a joint representation of several witnesses on behalf of Śēramalaiperumāḷ and an appeal by him to the Śrīmā hēśvaras, Śrīvaiṣṇavas, the *kaṇakkar* (accountants), those reciting the hymns, to Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, who was the agent of the king for the estate and the temple, and to the *Agampaḍi kaikkōlar*. His appeal was admitted on one condition that he should maintain the service called *Vīrakērala-maḷavarāyan śandi* in the temple. The records do not mention the causes that led to the murder of Vāmana bhaṭṭa, or the name of the person who avenged the murder or how the latter was punished. It is also not clear why the entire property of Dēvargaḷnāyan was confiscated in the first instance and why the punishment was considerably lightened after the culprit was assassinated eventually.

The crimes of the period from Rājarāja I to Rājarāja III could be classified under two heads: 1. Murder; and 2. Culpable homicide not amounting to murder on account of accident in hunting or shooting or by negligence. Various instances of criminal law administration under these heads have been dealt with fully in the Annual Reports on Epigraphy[190].

It is noteworthy that none of the inscriptions mention theft, robbers or dacoity. There were a few instances of misappropriation of funds, falsification of accounts and breach of trust. That capital punishment was contemplated by the laws of the time is clear in the case of Vāmana bhaṭṭa, who was stabbed to death by Śattiyanāvan, who was probably a *Śudra*. The murder of a brāhmaṇa was considered to be the most heinous crime and required capital punishment. Manu[191] lays down that in no case shall the life of a brāhmaṇa be taken but he should pay a fine in cash according to the nature of the crime. It is also stated that any body other than a brāhmaṇa who causes any sort of misery or injury to a brāhmaṇa shall have his limbs cut off or suffer death.

A special feature of the administration of criminal law was that sentences of punishment were passed in the assembly by citizens, villagers, the people of the *nāḍu* and the brāhmaṇas. One does not often

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190. *A.R.Ep.*, 1899-1900, part II, para 9; 1906-07, p. 63; 1909-10, p.85; 1917-18, p.148; 1918-19, p. 99; *A.R.S. Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, No. 146, also pp.65-67.

191. Chapter IX, strophes 243 and 248.

hear of *dharmāsanas* (seats of Justice) as having been requisitioned in these cases. In certain cases, the perpetrator of a murder compromised with the relatives of the murdered and gave a donation for burning lamps in the temple. Fines in cash and land given in reparation did not constitute a source of revenue to the state, but they were all transferred to the temple. Manu also lays down that fines levied in such cases should not be appropriated by the king. It is rather strange heinous crimes were let off merely with a fine or a donation to burn a lamp. Rules for expiating all classes of crimes are laid down. Burning lamps in a temple is considered the most virtuous act as is clear from the majority of stone inscriptions.

An inscription of Śrīvallabha (A.D. 1080) makes an interesting reference to the case of a brāhmaṇa lady who poisoned herself for an unspecified reason. Allegations were made against her husband, which were proved to be unfounded. In expiation of this calumny the *kaikkōḷas* residing in the *maḍaviḷāgam* of the temple at Tiruppattūr gave to Sundara Pāṇḍya bhaṭṭa, the husband, a plot of land as *udirapaṭṭi* (compensatory gift). The land had been obtained in exchange for their land from the *mūlaparisàd mahāsabhā* and the *muppatu vaṭṭattu Kāṇiyāḷar* (body of thirty members holding the tenancy rights jointly) of the temple[192]. The document was signed by the accountant of the temple Aḷagiyaperumāḷ Ambalattāḍuvān also known as Āyiratteḷunrruvanmūvēndavēḷān[193].

The *puṛavu-vari-kūru-*śeyyār, whose main duty it was to attend to the revenue affairs, had also judicial functions in the time of Kulōttuṅga III. This is clear from an inscription of the king[194] dated in his twentieth year where two classes of officials act as officers to settle boundary disputes between the two temples of Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvānaikkāval (Jambukēśvaram) arising out of the erosion of the river Koḷḷiḍam into the land belonging to these temples. The king is stated to have summoned the representatives of the *sabhā*, the *karaṇattār* (accountants) of the two villages, the superintendents of the two temples and adjudged their awards by taking into account the holdings of the two temples as they were before the erosion in the nineteenth year of the king and the actual enjoyment rights of both the parties, by suggesting

192. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, No.172.

193. He probably belonged to an administrative organisation consisting of 1700 members.

194. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1938-39, No.113.

suitable exchange of land. This award seems to have satisfied both the parties and they demarcated their respective boundaries with the marks of the *Cakra* and *śūla* respectively.

Chau Ju-Kua[195], gives an exaggerated account of justice in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries: 'when anyone among the people is guilty of an offence, one of the court ministers punishes him; if the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy upto a hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant'. This account is not corroborated or reflected in any other known source of Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya history.

The preceding administrative survey makes no claim to completeness as is only an attempt to draw attention to the more prominent and salient features of the administrative system of the period.

195. Cf. the translation by F. Hirth and W.W. Rookhill, 1911, p.95.

4

Society and Religion

It is usual to conceive of society in South India as divided into four classes: Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. This fourfold classification in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu Śāstras was maintained theoritically during the period, but there is no evidence to show that it was strictly adhered to. Brāhmaṇas and Kaṣtriyas are frequently referred to in the inscriptions of Tiruvālīśvaram. As elsewhere in India there is no real evidence for violent social conflicts and jealousies such as those between the *iḍaṅgai* and *valaṅgai* or between brāhmaṇas and non-brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas persumably stood at the head of society. They were learned, proficient in the vēdas and Śāstras and are even represented as gods on earth, engaged in the six duties, whose blessings come true and who paractise self control according to the Kaśakkuḍi Plates of Nandivarman Pallava[1]. The qualifications of a *bhaṭṭa* during the time of Rājarāja I, as laid down in an inscription from Ānūr dated A.D.999, are interesting. He should be well versed in the Vēdas and should be able to teach Pāṇini's grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), *alamkāra* and also twenty chapters of of the *Mīmāṃsa*[2] *Sōmayājin, sarvakratu, kramavid*[3] and *bhaṭṭas*[4] figure frequently in the Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions. The other members of society, as gleaned from the inscriptions of the period, consisted of

1. *S.I.I.*, II, Part III, 1913-17, No.73, p.346, strophe 8: *Yē dēvā bhuvi ṣaṭsu karmasu ratā satyā*śiṣaḥ samyatāḥ.
2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1932-33, No.76.
3. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.337.
4. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.334, 339, 345, 346 and 362.

veḷḷāḷar.[5] *śeṭṭi, piḷḷai* and *mudali*[6], besides merchants[7], artisans and other professional groups. It is interesting to note that *veḷḷāḷar* were often given brāhmaṇic names, as for instance *veḷḷāḷan* Brahmakūttan, who figures as a donor in the Tiruvālīśvaram inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya.[8]

Among other social groups are the Pāraśivas, the *citramēḷi-periya nāṭṭār*, the Rathakāras, Samayasaṅkēti and Dādanambi. The Pāraśivas attached to the temple of Elavanāśur, seem to have been a flourishing community under Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya[9]. According to the *Manusmṛti*, the Pāraśivas were *anulōmajas*, as they were the offspring of a brāhmaṇa father and a Śūdra mother. They were granted special honours during auspicious occasions, which were vouchsafed in a *vyavasthā-patra* granted by the *sthānattār* of the temple of Ūrbhāgaṅkoṇḍaruḷiya-nāyanār extending to them the same privileges as obtained in Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam, Cōḷa maṇḍalam and Naḍuvil maṇḍalam. A similar privilege granted to this community is recorded in another inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya from Tiruvēndipuram[10].

The Citramēḷi periya-nāṭṭār, an agricultural community who called themselves *bhūmi-putras* and the children of Paramēśvarī, were a prominent and prosperous social group under Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara[11] (A.D 1267-68). The plough share was their deity and the *paśumpai* (pedlar's pack) their emblem. They figure largely in the inscriptions of the 13th and 14th centuries[12]. The *praśasti* of the Citramēḷi guild in the Tamil country as found in an inscription may be cited:

Śrīmatām-bhūmi-putrāṇām śrīmad-gō-kṣīra-jīvinām /

sarvalōka-hitan-nyāyyam citramēḷasya śāsanam //

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5. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.141.
6. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916 Nos.329, 347 and 362.
7. *Ibid.*, Nos. 334, 355, 357, 358, and 371.
8. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.141.
9. *A.R.S.Ind. Ep.*, 1937-38, No.492.
10. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No.765.
11. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1938-39, No.189.
12. *Ibid.*, 1936-37, part II, p.77, para 43.

jīyatām jagatām=ētat pālanam rāṣṭra-pōṣaṇam /

śāsanam bhūmi-putrāṇām caturvarṇṇa-kulōdbhavam //[13]

The Rathakāras, Samayasaṅkētis and Dāsanambis were conferred with special social rights as known from a Sanskrit inscription from Poyyakkaraippaṭṭi near Madurai[14]. This registers the grant of certain privileges by the Rathakāras of Maṅgalavāsaccēri in Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam to Tirumalaiy-āḷvān, a tāda (dāsa) nambi[15] for his service to the community. The four classes of Rathakāras are stated to have pursued 'six kinds of vocations' pertaining to the 'three divisions of work'. This classification of the work is not clear, but at the end of the inscription, the Rathakāras are called the *padineṉ viṣaiyattār* (the representatives of the eighteen *viṣayas*)[16]

No precise details about the density of population in this area appear from the inscriptions. In the thousands of South Indian Inscriptions there is no reference to any periodical census. The evidence on the state of agriculture, trade, armed forces and the amount of labour and resources utilised for public works and for religious monuments may, however, suggest a numerous and busy population.

The village of Tiruvāliśvaram consisted of atleast nine divisions as recorded in an inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya from the Śiva temple[17]. A division called Tulakkilimaṅgalam was included in the ninth *cēri* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, which was administered by Śrī Harṣa bhaṭṭa as a representative of the Pāṇḍya king. The fifth division is also mentioned as *añcāñcēri*. Two inscriptions of Rājarāja[18] give details of the different parts of the villages of Tanjore and Pālaiyūr during the period as *ūr nattam* (village site), *śrīkōyil* with its *tirumuṟṟam* (the temple and its courtyard), *kuḷam* (pond), *vāykkāl* (irrigation channel) passing through the village, *paṟaiccēri* (quarters for *paṟaiyas* a caste group), *kammāṇaccēri* (quarters for smiths and artisans of the five caste

13. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No.129. For an account of this and other guilds the reader is referred to *Qu.Journ.Myth.Soc.*, XLV, 1954-55, pp.29-47, 70-98, and 270-286.

14. *A.R.S.Ind. Ep.*, 1938-39, No.222.

15. Nambi literally means to trust or believe. T.Burrow and M.B.Emeneau, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 1961, p.238; 2975.

16. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1937-38, No.125; also part II, p.82, para 30.

17. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.339.

18. *S.I.I.*, II, 1916, Nos.4 and 5, pp.42-67.

groups namely goldsmith, coppersmith, *silpin*, carpenter and blacksmith), *vaṇṇācceri* (washermen's quarters), *īṛaccēri* (quarter where toddy was sold), *śuḍukāḍu* (cremation ground) *tiṇḍāccēri* (quarters for magicians and sorcerers and therefore untouchable), the quarters for the workmen on the *peruvaḷi* (highway), thrashing floor for grain in the village, *karkiḍai* (cattle pound), *tirumañjana kuḷam* (the sacred bathing pond), *ūrūṇi kuḷam* (public pond), the stables, wasteland used as pasture, *talaivāyccēri* (quarters near the main gateway of the village), *toṭṭi* (cistern), *paḷḷavāy* (the land used as pit for refuse) and *Īḷaccēri* (a quarter named after Rājarāja's conquest of Ceylon and probably for the settlement of Rājarāja's soldiers who fought in Ceylon). The villages inhabited by brāhmaṇas were known as *agrahāra* or *maṅgala* as distinct from *kuḍi* or *ūr* for the *veḷḷāḷa* villages. A small village was called *kuṛicci* and a fortified one a *kōṭṭai*.

There is a characterestic association of streets and temples in many places in South India. The features of this are the temple with one or nore *gōpuras* and shrines enclosed by a *prākāra* (wall), a number of broad streets around the temple in rectangular form, often bearing names as South, North, East and West car streets, and a wide street leading to the main entrance of the temple. The main image or *mūlabhēra* of the temple faces the direction of this street. Two other features, less typical, are the tank, the location of which in respect of the temple may vary; and the inner rectangle of narrow streets called the *maḍaviḷāgam* in the inscriptions, which sometimes replaces or accompanies the car streets. The car streets are for the procession of the temple chariot during the festivals. The *sannadhi* streets are nearly always occupied by brāhmaṇas. The *māḍavīdi*, the street with storeyed buildings, surrounds the temple and appears to consist of residences for wealthy and distinguished people. From the inscriptions it is learnt that the construction of storeyed buildings and mansions was a privilege given only to a few and that such buildings were built with burnt bricks. The term *pādi* like *cēri* is applied to denote a quarter of a big village. The *śaṅkarapādiyar* figure as a separate class of inhabitants (*kuḍigaḷ*) and are mentioned along with *vyāpārin* (merchants), *veḷḷāḷar* (cultivators), *śāliyar* (cloth dealers) and *paṭṭinavar* (silk dealers)[19]. A second group called *kīḷ-kalanai* including *taccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmiths), *taṭṭār* (goldsmiths) and *kōḷiyar* (poultry keepers), is also mentioned. The other group

19. *S.I.I.*, IV, 1923, No.223.

pura-kalanai included the *śāliyar, vāṇigar, kaikkōḷar, sēnai-aṅgāḍiyar* and *kōyil-aṅgāḍiyar* (shopkeepers of the temple and palace quarters)[20].

Women:

We get a few references relating to women, especially queens, princesses and *dēvaraḍiyār* in the inscriptions. Their social life and activities were free, though modesty was considered their highest virtue. The inscriptions reveal many instances of women of the upper classes owning property in their own right and disposing of it as they chose. This is attested by the Mānūr inscription of Māṛañjaḍaiyan[21]. Though kings and nobles had numerous wives, the monogamous family was the normal unit of social life. The utilisation of female labour in the less skilled occupations was common. We donot get sufficient information regarding *satī* or *sahagamana* in the Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the period[22]. On the whole we learn that there was in this period a high ideal of womanhood and that feminine virtues were greatly valued.

Mukkākiḷānadigal, the queen of Rājēndra I[23], figures in one of the inscriptions of Tiruvālīśvaram[24]. The *vēḷam* or retinue of Ulakuṭaiya piräṭṭiyār (Lōkamahādēvi, another queen of Rājēndra) is referred to in an inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya on the Śiva temple[25]. Paṛavai nācciyār, the consort of Sundaramūrti nāyanār, and her *utsava-vigraha* in the Tiruvālīśvaram temple are referred to in a record of Sundara Pāṇḍya I[26]. The marriage of Sundaramūrti with Paṛavai nācciyār was celebrated according to vēdic rites. There is no reference to the ceremony of the *tāli* rite in the account of Śekkirār in the *Tiruttoṇḍar purāṇam*[27]. The Tanjore inscription of Rājarāja I describes the image of Paṛavaiyār, the wife of Nambi Ārūranār (Sundaramūrti), set up by Ādityan Sūryan, the *śrīkāryam* officer of the temple in the 29th

20. *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, No.298.

21. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1933-34, pp.5-11.

22. An inscription dated in the 17th regnal year of Śrīvallabha from Jayatuṅganallūr, in Tirunelvēli district records a grant of land to commemorate the death of a woman who burnt herself, *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1959-60, p.58, No.31.

23. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, No.73.

24. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.345.

25. *S.I.I*, XIV, 1962, No.170.

26. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.345.

27. C.J.Jayadev, 'The Tali and Tali rite' in *Trans.Arch.Soc.S.I.*, 1959-60, p.52.

regnal year (A.D.1014) of the king[28]. The Tyāgarājasvāmin temple inscription of Kulōttuṅga I[29] from Tiruvārūr refers to her as Paṛavai nācciyār, while mentioning a gift of four images in the seventh year (A.D. 1077) of the king. In the *Periyapurāṇam*, she is only mentioned as Paṛavaiyār[30]. The same work also refers to a temple called *Tiruvārūr ppaṛavaiyuṇ maṇ taḷi* (the mud temple in which Paṛavai stayed at Tiruvārūr).

Among the prominent devaraḍiyār attached to the Tiruvālīśvara temple was Āriyāḷ Bhuvani Āṭkoṇḍanāyakamāṇikkam[31] also devoted to the deity at Tirumkukkūḍal[32]. Śempon Tyāgi Vīrabhadra-naṅgai[33], daughter of Ambattāḷ another *dēvaraḍiyār* seems to have led a life of ease and pleasure like the Greek *hetaera* and provided amusement and intellectual companionship to those who could afford it. At her worst, she was a temple prostitute. Some of them were married as for instance Ambattāḷ, the mother of Vīrabhadra-naṅgai[34] The traditional classification of *dēvadāsīs* was seven fold:

1. *Dattā*, one who was given as a gift to the temple,
2. *Vikrītā*, one who was sold to the temple,
3. *Bhṛtyā*, one who offered herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family,
4. *Bhaktā*, one who joins the temple out of devotion,
5. *Hāritā*, one who was enticed away and presented to a temple,
6. *Alamkārā*, one who, being well trained in her profession and profusely dressed, was presented to a temple by a king or noble,
7. *Rudragaṇikā*, one who recieved regular wages from a temple and was employed to sing and dance.

The social standing of the *dēvaraḍiyār* in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries is clearly indicated by the numerous records registering rich benefactions made by them and the recognition given by local powers

28. *S.I.I*, II, 1913-17, pp.152 ff.
29. *Ibid.*, VII, 1933, No.485.
30. Edited with an interpretation by Ārumugha Tambirān, p.21.
31. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.345.
32. *Ibid.*, No.353.
33. Ibid., *Nos.354, 362 and 363.*
34. *Ibid.*, No.363.

to their public spirit. The prescribed duties of *dēvaraḍiyār* in the temples consisted in the washing up and cleaning of the temple premises and the cleaning and pounding of rice required for food offerings to the deity. Evidently their work as servants of God was also of the nature of manual labour.

Maṭhas:

There is no evidence for *maṭhas* in inscriptions until the beginning of the eighth century. The earliest mention of a *maṭha* is in the Tirumēṟṟaḷi inscription of Dantivarman Pallava[35]. A *maṭha* is an abode for students and others connected with them; *maṭhas chāttrādinilayaḥ*[36]. A study of the numerous inscription relating to the origin, organisation and purpose of the *maṭhas* in South India reveals that they served as important educational centres, in addition to being feeding houses for the poor and infirm and rest houses for pilgrmis. The scholars attached to the *maṭha* were known as Caṭṭaperumakkaḷ (caṭṭan, noun from Sanskrit Chāttra= pupil)[37]. The *maṭhas* had some control over temple endowments as revealed by Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries. From about the tenth century onwards, it was a very common feature to include *maṭhas* within temple precincts in South India. A large number of epigraphic records relates to these *maṭhas* indicating their power and popularity. Numerous references to the establishment of *maṭhas* by Śaiva devotees are found in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the *Tēvāram* of Appar, Sundarar and Jñānasambandhar. They mention the following *maṭhas* in the Pāṇḍya country:

Sambandhar[38]

1. Tiruvālavāy (Madurai),
2. Tirupparankuṇṟam,
3. Tiru āppanūr,
4. Tiru ēṭakam,

35. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, No.89; *S.I.I*, 'III, 1943, No.44.

36. *Amarakosa, Namalinganusanam. ii, 5 1941, p.75 edited by S.D. Sharma and G.S. Sardesai.*

37. *Tamil Lexicon*, III, 1924-39, p.1237, also *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, I, 1910-13, p.9. 'oru caṭṭanai oru caṭṭan pilaikka pēsuvānākil.

38. Jñānasambandhar, *Tēvāram*, Kasi Mutt edition, 1950, pp.539, 541, 543, 546, 550, 554, 556, 558, 562, and 566.

5. Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟam,
6. Tiruppattūr,
7. Tiruppunaivayal,
8. Tiru Irāmēśvarm (Rāmēśvaram),
9. Tiru āḍānai,
10. Tirukkāṇappēr,
11. Tiruppūvanam,
12. Tirukuṟṟālam, and
13. Tirunelvēli.

Appar[39]

1. Ālavāy (Madurai),
2. Tirunelvēli, as Nelvāyil, and
3. Rāmēśvaram,

Sundarar[40]:

1. Tirupparankuṉṟam,
2. Tirunelvēli, and
3. Tiruccuḷi.

These Śaiva *maṭhas* played a very important part in the cultural field in South India. They controlled temple affairs pertaining to ritual and doctrine and pilgrims from other parts found a ready residence there. The Virapaṇḍitan *maṭha* attached to the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram fed itinerant *tapasvins* (ascetics) and provided lodgings for them on the festival day of the Rōhiṇī *nakṣatra*[41] The *maṭhas* also served as teaching and training centres. References to grants made for a study of the Ṛk-, Yajur-, Sama- and Atharva- *vēdas* and for the teaching of *Śāstras* and for reciting the Purāṇas and *Itihāsas, Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the *maṭhas* are numerous[42] during the period testifying to the eductional and spiritual activities of these institutions. A competition held in reciting the *Jaiminīya Sāmavēda* is recorded in an inscription of Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka dated in his

39. *Tēvāram*, Kāśi Muṭṭ editition, 1949, pp.361, 368, 373.
40. *Ibid.*, pp.3,6,212.
41. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.337.
42. *Ibid.*, Nos.671, 667; 1922, No.546

14th regnal year (A.D. 999)[43]. A deposit of 20 *Karuṅkāśu* was made with the temple of Tiruccēlūr by a *sarvakratuyājin* belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* for a prize to the best reciter of prescribed portions of the *Jaiminīya Sāmavēda*[44] before the deity on the night of the Ārdrā or Tiruvādirai festival in the month of Mārgaḷi (Māragaśīrṣa).

The principal *maṭhas* figuring in the records of Tiruvālīśvarm are the Gōlaki *maṭha*[45], the Bhikṣā *maṭha* and the Grāmarājan *maṭha*[46] under the patronage of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara and Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. A note about the foundation and growth of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* may be given here. It was established by Sadbhavaśambhu with the patronage of Yuvarājadēva, the Kalacuri king. There were several branches of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* outside Central India such as those in South India at Cuddapah, Kurnool, Guntur, North Arcot, Madras and Tirunelvēli districts. The Gōḷaki *maṭha* was probably connected with Prabōdhaśiva of the Mattamyūra clan mentioned in the Chandrehe Inscription dated A.D.973[47] It was concerned with the *pāśupata* form of Śaivism. The Malkāpuram inscription[48] dated A.D.1261 gives the genealogy of Viśvēśvaraśambhu, the chief priest of the Viśvēśvara Gōḷaki. *Sōmaśambhū-paddhati*, a work on *Śaivāgama*. Sōmaśambhu's successor was Vāmaśambhu. After some interval came Kīrttiśambhu, who was followed by Vimalaśambhu from Kērala. His successor was Dharmaśiva who was followed by Viśvēśvaraśiva from Gauḍa-dēśa (Bengal). Viśvēśvaraśiva was the *guru* of these Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. Śivadēvayya, mentioned in the Telugu poem *Sōmadēvarājīyam* and in the literary work *Pratāpacaritam*[49] as the chief adviser of Gaṇapati must probably identified with Viśvēśvaraśiva. He is said to have constituted an *agrahāra* named Viśvēśvara Gōḷaki from the two villages donated to him and established a temple of Śiva with a *maṭha* for all

43. *S.I.I.*, XIII, 1952, No.250.

44. *mēr pādattu oru turuvum kīḻ pādattu oru turuvum karaipaṟiccu paṭṭam kaṭattu piḷaiyāmē connār.*

45. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.359, 361 and 364.

46. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.356 and 358.

47. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 1932-33, pp.148 ff; *C.I.I.*, IV, 1955, pp.198-204 and plate p.clvii.

48. *J.A.H.R.S.*, IV, 1929, pp.147-162-Deccan, parts VII to XI, 1960.

49. Published by Śaivapracārini Granthamala, Warangal, also cited in G.Yazdani, *The Early History of the Deccan* parts VII to XI, 1960, pp.598, 627, 658, 666-67 and 700.

classes from brāhmaṇas to caṇḍālas as well as a hospital, a maternity home (*prasūti śālā*) and a college for teaching several branches of Sanskrit Studies. The *agrahāra* was settled with sixty brāhmaṇas, probably associated with the *Kālamukha* sect from the Tamil country. In addition there were many other brāhmaṇas well-versed in *Ṛk-*, *Yajur-*, and *Sāma vēdas*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tarka* and five in philosophy who formed the staff of the institution. The village had also a physician and an accountant (*kāyastha*). Ten *vīrabhadras* were appointed as watchmen and ten *vīramuṣṭis* as *bhaṭṭas*. There were also ten artisans: a goldsmith, a coppersmith, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a stone mason and *śilpin*, a basket maker, a potter, a barber and a *sthapati* (architect). The temple had ten *narttakis* on its roll, eight musicians, fourteen singers, six drummers and one from Kāśmir, whose duties are not specified but who was probably an instructor in instrumental music. A number of brāhmṇas were to keep the accounts of the temple. The concluding portion of the Malkapuram inscription has a long list of charities established by Viśvēśvaraśiva[50].

The spiritual lineage of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* was as follows:

Vimalaśiva
|
Dharmaśiva
|
Viśvēśvaraśiva called Rājagurudēva (A.D.1214-1243).
|
Paripūrṇaśiva — Śāntaśambhuśiva (A.D.1257-63) — Uttamaśiva (A.D. 1271).

Śāntaśambhuśiva (A.D.1257-63)
|
Śrīkaṇṭhaśiva (A.D.1270-71).

50. For a detailed account the reader is referred to *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, part II, para 33; 1936-37, p.67.

The teachers of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* appear to have moved over to Southern India some time before the 11th century A.D. Pugali-pperumāḷ of the *Jñānāmṛta-santāna* of the *maṭha* is constantly referred to in the Tiruvālīśvam inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya[51] and in those of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya[52] in which Aghōradēva is mentioned as belonging to the *Jīyar-santāna* of the same *maṭha*. The Bhikṣā *maṭha* and its teachers Aghōraśiva and Īśānaśiva are mentioned in the inscriptions, suggesting their connection with the Śaiva siddhānta teachers of the same name. The *maṭha* is also referred to in association with Gōḷaki *dharma* and later in the sixteenth century[53]. The disciples of this *maṭha* had under their administration some important temples in South India extending from Dēvikāpuram[54] in North Arcot to Manappaḍaivīḍu in Tirunelvēli[55].

The Vīra-paṇḍitan *maṭha* was another religious institution situated in the temple precincts of Tiruvālīśvaram. During the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I itinerant *tapasvins* were given food regularly every month with a special feast on the day of the Rōhiṇī *nakṣatra*[56], which marked the celebration of a festival in the temple under the superintendance of Vāgīśan. The eight śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple namely Mānābharaṇan, Sundara-bhaṭṭan, Tyāgavinōda-brahmādhirāyan, Nālāyira-bhaṭṭan, Tiruttoṇḍa-nambi, Siriyāṇḍān-bhaṭṭan and Dēva-piḷḷai (who was a non-brahman), were to administer the charities and endowments connected with the *maṭha*.

The Grāmarājan *maṭha* was another important institution situated outside the precincts of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple[57]. The *mahēśvaras* residing in the *maṭha* during the period of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara were Aghōradēva, Nētradēva or Tiruvālavāy-uḍaiyān[58] and Sadāśivadēva. Among their sons are mentioned Atirvīśiyāḍuvān and Tiru-cciṟṟambalam-uḍaiyān. The traders of Malai-maṇḍalam (Kērala) were munificent donors to this institution in cash and kind

51. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.359, 361.
52. *Ibid.*, No.364.
53. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, No.178.
54. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.352.
55. *Ibid.*, 1909, No.443.
56. *Ibid.*, 1916, Nos.351 and 357.
57. *Ibid.*, No.356.
58. Tiruvālavāy denotes Madurai and Netradeva was perhaps born at Madurai

for the conduct of festivals and feeding charities during the period of Kulaśēkhara[59] and Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I[60].

On the whole, three groups of Śaiva cult and philosophy were popular in South India from the tenth century on : first the school of pure devotion and self-surrender, perpetuated by the *nāyanmars*, the second, the agamic school, largely influenced by the *pratyabhijñā* school of Kāśmir and third, that of the Lakulīśa-*samaya*; the *Pāśupatas* and *kālamukhas*, who were very prominent at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, Ālambakkam, Koḍumbālūr and other parts of South India since the time of the Pallavas. The *Pāśupata* sects founded *maṭhas* all over the country from Cedi and Malwa in Central India to Cape Comorin in South India. The mystic Meykaṇḍanār composed his treatise, *Śivajñānabōdham*, on the philosophy of Śaiva doctrine, which was to a certain extent influenced by the *pratyabhijñā* system of Kāśmir. He was closely followed by Arunandi, who wrote the *Sivajñānasiddhiyār*. These two form the chief scriptures of South Inidan Śaiva metaphysics. Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi, a contemporary of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I, re-arranged the Śaiva cannon. All these together formed the *Tirujñānam*, comprising the hymns recited in temples and the theological cannons expounded by the Śaiva teachers.

59. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.355.
60. *Ibid.*, No.358.

5

The Tiruvalisvaram Inscriptions Transcriptions and Translations

Chronological order of the Tiruvālīśvaram Inscriptions.

Serial Number	Location	Published reference
1. No.116 of 1905	on the north wall of the central shrine.	
2. No.119 of 1905	On the south wall of the central shrine.	
3. No.117 of 1905	On the north and west walls of the central shrine	
4. No.118 of 1905	On the north and west walls of the central shrine	
5. No.120 of 1905	On a pillar set up near the *bali pīṭha.*	
6. No.115 of 1905	On the north wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.141.
7. No.327 of 1916	South wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, No.160
8. No.332 of 1916	North wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, No.161
9. No.330 of 1916	West wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, No.170
10. No.328 of 1916	West wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, No.187
11. No.329 of 1916	West wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, No.196
12. No.331 of 1916	North wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, No.239

13. No.326 of 1916	South wall of the central shrine.	*S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.220
14. No.371 of 1916	Slab used in the Kitchen of the temple.	
15. No.335 of 1916	Northern half of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*.	
16. No.356 of 1916	West wall of the first *prākāra*.	
17. No.337 of 1916	North wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*	
18. No.355 of 1916	West wall of the first *prākāra*.	
19. No.370 of 1916	North side of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Saundaryanāyaki shrine.	
20. No.342 of 1916	Wall of the inner *gōpura*, left of the entrance.	
21. No.349 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.	
22. No.350 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.	
23. No.333 of 1916	South wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*.	
24. No.344 of 1916	Wall of the inner *gōpura*, proper right.	
25. No.353 of 1916	Westwall of the *prākāra*.	
26. No.358 of 1916	West wall of the *prākāra*.	
27. No.357 of 1916	West wall of the *prākāra*.	
28. No.354 of 1916	West wall of the *prākāra*.	
29. No.345 of 1916	West wall of the *gōpura*,right side.	
30. No.348 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.	

31. No.346 of 1916	Wall of the inner *gōpura*, left side.
32. No.341 of 1916	West side of the *adhiṣṭhāna of the* first *prākāra*.
33. No.364 of 1916	East wall of the *prākāra*, left side.
34. No.360 of 1916	North wall of the *prākāra*. •
35. No.340 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.
36. No.338 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.
37. No.352 of 1916	West wall of the *prākāra*.
38. No.365 of 1916	East wall of the *prākāra*.
39. No.339 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.
40. No.359 of 1916	North wall of the *prākāra*.
41. No.361 of 1916	North wall of the *prākāra*.
42. No.363 of 1916	East wall of the *prākāra*.
43. No.347 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.
44. No.334 of 1916	South wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*.
45. No.351 of 1916	South wall of the *prākāra*.
46. No.362 of 1916	East wall of the *prākāra*.
47. No.367 of 1916	Southern side of the *adhiṣṭhāna*of the Saundaryanāyaki shrine.
48. No.343 of 1916	Wall of the inner *gōpura*.
49. No.366 of 1916	East of the *prākāra*.

50. No.369 of 1916	West side of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of Saundaryanāyaki shrine.
51. No.336 of 1916	North side of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *ardha-maṇḍapa*.
52. No.368 of 1916	South side of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Saundaryanāyaki shrine.
53. No.372 of 1916	Slab used for preparing flower garlands.

The following orthographical peculiarities are to be noted in the inscriptions of Tiruvālīśvaram. All Sanskrit words and syllables are engraved in *grantha*. Two forms of *ya* occur in Tamil and *grantha*, one ഡ and the other, ய which is more common. The vowel a is not separated sometimes from the consonant to which it is added. The central loops of the consonants ṇà and ṇa (ன and ண) are fully developed though in a few cases they are written without the loops, (ன and ண). The i following a consonant is marked on the top left corner instead of over the letter as is generally the case in the records of the period. In the case of ṇi, the i is added over the letter and in some cases to its right side according to the shape of the letter n, which in many cases is not uniform.

The marks for medial *u* and *ū* are not always distinguished. *ḷu* and *mu* are also not distinguished. Except in the letters *lai* and *ḷai*, the *ai* is marked by two *e* signs written side by side of the consonent, (லை, ளை, ெ ெ). The ligature *nta* is employed frequently. The palatal *ñ* (ஞ) is so shaped that it may be mistaken for *na* (ந). The velar *ṅa* and the syllable *ru* have similar shapes.

In the case of *Vaṭṭeluttu* records the main features are : the use of *grantha* for ligatures as *kṣai, sva, sti, śrī, hma, bra, pra, ddha, vya, vri* and *tta*. Sanskrit terms like *sabhā, vēda, dharma* are written in *grantha*. In *grantha* letters, the length of the vowel *i* is denoted by a mark for the vowel *ā* attached to the right of the letter. The sign ofor *ā* is a plain short horizontal stroke with a vertical longer stroke(𐤀). In *Vaṭṭeḷuttu*, the vowel ū is marked by a loop below the consonant. One and the same letter is found written in different forms. The forms of *ai*, and *ya* (ψ) are also to be specially noted. There is little distinction made between the the stroke for *ra* (7) and the stroke to denote an *ā* mātra. The letters *ḷu* and *mu* are not always distinguished.

No.1: Inscription of Rājakēsari, year 11 (A.D.996).

Script: *Vaṭṭeḷuttu*, with an admixture of *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Rājarājakēśaripanmaṛkku yāṇṭu patinoṉṟ āvatu śoḷan .. .. .. [1] kan Piṭavūr nāṭṭu ppiṭavūr-uṭaiyān Ampala.. ..
2. vāykkālukku tteṟku onpatāṅkaṇṇāṟṟu Tiruvālīśvaravatikku kiḷakku tenkaṭaiy kkāṇi araiykkāṇi kōtta
3. nilam vēli nīr nilam vēlikkum oṭṭiśainta ikkaṭiñjaikkarai Tiruvālīś-varattu tēvaṟkku niśadam uḷakku ney .. ..
4. vaḷikyilārkku śantirātittaval nīr nilam variśaikkāṇiyākavum koṇṭu .. .. kkālāl vaḷiyilōrkku śantirātittaval nilam niṟai variśaik-kāṇiyākavum .. .. lam .. .. kkālākl vaḷiyilārkku śantirātittaval nilam niṟai variśaikkāṇiyākavum .. .. lam .. ..
5. varkku ttirumu .. kku .. .. vēḷaikku ariśi nānāḷiyāka mūṇṟu vēḷaikku ariśi panniru nāḷiyum .. ..
6. kkum viṣu tīru śeyyum .. .. .. nāḷiyum kkaṟiyaṭuvā .. .. ..[2]

Translation

1) (In the) Year 11 of Rājakēsarivaman, śōḷan .. .. .. Ampalavan otherwise known an Piṭaṟu-uṭaiyān of Piṭavūr nāḍu .. ..

2). to the south of the irrigation channel, to the west of the ninth sluice called Tiruālīśvaravati, land lying to the south of these two boundaries to the extent of 1/2 *kāṇi*

3). land one *vēli*; this one *vēli* of wet land (was gifted) to this deity at Tiruvālīśvaram, on the banks of this (river) Kaṭiñjai and for the ghee at the rate of one *uḷakku* per day .. ..

4). to the registry officials as long as the moon and the sun last, this wet land having been classed as *variśaikkāṇi* .. .. to the registry officials as long as the moon and sun last, the land as a complete registered tenancy .. ..

5). to the deity .. .. for a single offering four *nāḷi* of rice, for three offerings 12 *nāḷi* of rice

6). for the festival of Viṣu .. .. *nāḷi*, for the offering of *kaṟi* .. ..

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1. Two dots for each missing *akṣara*.
2. Damaged and the continuation is lost.

No. 2: Inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, year 11 (A.D.996.).

Script: *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* with an admixture of *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Kāndaḷūr śālai kalamaṟuttaruḷiya kēvirāśakēsaripanmaṟkku yāṇṭu patinoṉṟāvatu Śrī Rājarāja vaḷanāṭṭu muḷḷi nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅkalattu mahāsabhaiyār pakkal ivvūr Kkhaṭiñjaikkarai Tiruvālīśvarattu tēvatānattu koḷvatākavum ittēvarai śāntiśeyyum brāhmaṇan .. .. iru nāḻiyāka āṭṭa pāṭṭam irunūṟṟu nārpattu eṉ kuṟuṇi iru nāḻi uriyum akanāḻikaiyār vaśam mutal vaṭṭam ainpatin kala nellu aḷappatākavum i
2. ttēvar kiḻakku nōkki kkaṭiñjaikkayavil viḻuntān-kuḻavakai kāṇi .. .. .. itarkku tteṟkum ivviśainta perunāṅkellaikku .. .. ittēvaṟkku niśadappaṭi akanāḻikaippaṇiśeyvāṟku vāṭakkaṭan āṭṭukkāṇiyāka kuṭutta innilam araiyē kāṇi muntirikaiyum nīkki niṉṟa nilattil eḻumāvarai araikkāṇi muntirikaiyil ittēvar akanāḻikaiyār arccanāpōkattukkum ivvakanāḻikaiyār eṇmarum iṭakkaṭava māṇikal nālvarkkum āka .. .. ..
3. neyyāl muṭṭāmal erikka kkaṭava tirunontāviḷakku oṉṟinukku innilam vēli nilam iraṇṭu tirunontāviḷakkinukku āḷ iraṇṭukku tirikaiyum Śrībaliyum paḷḷi eḻucciyum uṭapaṭa maṟṟum ittēvaṟkku vēṇṭuvena paṟṟukku ellām kāṭṭum uvaccan āḷamañjikku nilam mūṟṟu mā mukkāṇiyum Śaṅkarapāḍiyāṟkku nilan irumāvaraiyum tirumeḻukkuppuram nilan kāṇiyum tiruntā .. ..
4. .. lam āka kaṭamai muppatin kala nellāka innilam araiyē kāṇi muntirikaiyum ṅamakku .. .. śaṅkavittēvarkku vēṇṭuvanavukku viśamāvatākavum śeyya ipparisu nilaniṟutti varavum maṟṟum vēṇṭuvanavaṟṟukkum kalam iṭum kuśvarkku nilan kāṇiyumāka innilam eḻumāvaraikkāṇi muntirikaiyum innivantakkāra ittēvarkku ippaṭikku innilam mukkālē mūṉṟu māvum ipparisu kuṭuttōm i-
5. naiyum maṟṟa śelavukku ariśi ttēvai vāriyam āka ariśi patināṟu .. .. nciravaikku nellu eṉ kuṟuṇiyum .. .. pakkam i ttēvarkku viṣu ayanaṅkaḷukku viśam uṭpaṭa

6. maṇi .. .. .. kku nellu irunāḷiyum pūvattukku nellu uriyum āka aṭaikkāy amirtum kkuvanittiranṭukkum .. .. kkirama .. .. ŚrīVānavanmahādēviccēri .. .. ..[1].

Translation.

1) (In the) year 11 of Rājakēsarivarman, who destroyed the ships at Kāndaḷūr Śālai. The brāhmaṇa, who performs the ritual in the Tiruvālīśvaram temple, shall take over the *dēvadāna* land belonging to the deity of Tiruvālīśvaram, on the banks of the Kaṭiñjai and shall measure out 50 *kalam* of paddy as the first instalment to the *akanāḷikai* officials towards the annual acout of 240 *kalam*, 8 *kuṛuṇi*, 2 *nāḷi* and one *uri* of paddy agreed upon by the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi nāḍu in Rājarāja Vaḷanāḍu.

2) The land called *viḷuntān-kuḷavakai kāṇi*, lying to the west of Kaṭiñjai river .. .. .. to the south of this with in the four main boundaries .. .. .. having set aside $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* as a perpetual *āṇṭu-kkāṇi* to those who perform the *akanāḷikai* duties to this deity daily and from the remaining land $7\frac{1}{2}$ *mā*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṇi*, and one *muntirikai* shall be enjoyed as *arcanābhōga* by the eight *akanāḷikayār* of this deity and also utilised for maintaining four pupils .. ..

3) For a perpetual lamp to be maintained without fail with ghee, land one *vēli* for two perpetual lamps and for two persons conducting the *śrībali*, preparing wicks for the lamps and for preparing the deity for the bed chamber and the other requirements of this deity; attended to by the drummer Āḷamañji, (who was given) three *mā* and three *kāṇi*. To the Śaṅkarapāḍiyar $2\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land as *tirumeḷukku-puṛam*.. .. .. ..

4) .. the tax in all being 30 *kalam* of paddy, this land $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā*, one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* to us .. .. shall be utilised for the necessary requirements of śaṅkavittēvar. For maintaining this gift and for other requisites and for the potter, who supplied the pots (was set aside) $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṇi* of land; in all 7*mā*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land was set aside in addition to the $\frac{3}{4}$ *vēli* and 3 *mā* of land gifted to this deity.

5. For other expenses and rice requirements rice 16 .. .. .. 8 *kuṛuṇis* of paddy and for the festival of *Viṣu*

6) .. .. .. paddy two *nāḷi*, for the *pūvam* paddy one *uri*, for the offering of betel nuts and leaves .. .. Śrī Vānavanmādēviccēri .. .. ..

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1. Continuation lost.

No.3: Inscription dated in the year 18 (A.D. 1003).

Script: *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* with an admixture of *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī yāṇṭu patineṭṭāvatu Muḻḻi nāṭṭu Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅkalattu mahāsabhaiyōm .. .. śōnāṭṭu vaṭakarai ppiṭavūr nāṭṭu ppiṭavūr-uṭaiyān Ampalava
2. n Iravi nam pakkal nammūr vaṭavāyil kkaṭiñjaikku mēṟkkum peññūr-ppōḻikku vaṭakkum Tiruvālīśvaravatikku kkiḻakkum Śrī Vāsudēva-vāykkālukku tteṟkkum onpatān kaṇṇāṟṟu Ttiruvālī-
3. śvaravatikku kkiḻakku tterkaṭaiy kkāṇiyār kāṇikku kiḻakku nōkki kkaṭiñjai kkaiviḻnta ikkāṇi araikkāṇi kkāttam uṭpata itaṟkku tteṟkkum ivviśainta perunāṅkella-
4. iyir kiṭanata nilattil Śrīkōyil viḻākamum kiṟamam kaḻiccu nammūr nilam aḻavukōlāl vilai koṇṭuṭaiya nilan vōli innilan vēlikkum iṭṭiśaiyāka ikkaṭiñjaikkarai Tiruvālī-
5. śvarattu ttēvaṟkku nittam uḻakku neyyāl muṭṭāmal aṭṭuvatāna neyyuḻakkum tirunontā viḻakku oṇṟu erikkavum innilam vēliyum iraṇṭu mā nilam nīkki niṉṟa nilam mukkālē mūṇṟu māvu-
6. m Tiruvālīśvarattu ttēvar akanāḻikaiyārkkum uvaccarkaḻukkum caṅkamātikaḻukkum uṭpaṭa nivantakkārarkku ppiṭavūr-uṭaiyān Ampalavan Iravi kuṭutta nilam eḻu
7. māvaraiyun kkāṇi muntirikaiyu nīkki niṉṟa nilan arai
8. yē kkāṇi muntirikaiyun ittēvaṟkku ttiruvamirtuṭpaṭa
9. veṇṭuvatukku vāṭākkaṭan māṟṟāl muppatin kala nel aññāḻi
10. marakkālāi āṭṭa pāṭṭam munnūṟṟu irupatin kalan i-
11. ru nāḻi uriy nollaṭṭuvatāka ippa .. .. .. n niśavi pakkal i .. ..
12. varaiyē kāṇi muntirikai nilamun kāṇiyāka peṟṟu ippiṭavūr-u
13. taiyan Ampalavan Iravikku ivarkkum ivan anvayattārkkum innilam a-
14. raiy kāṇi muntirikaiyum candrādityavar kārāṇmaiy paṇikkavum ikkārāṇmaiy ..
15. .. nam .. .. vāriyar Tiruvālīśvarattu ttēvar Śrīkōyilir kar mēl
16. veṭṭivippārākavum paṇiccu kkaraiyiṭṭu .. .. Śrī-śempi-

17. yanmahādēviccēri ccemayuḷ kōvaṭi Śaṅkara bhaṭṭar paṇikka Śrī Lō-
18. kamahādēviccēṛi cciru .. .. .. rājabhayaṅkaravatikku Śrī A-
19. ruḷmoḷidēvaccēri iḷukkāntirattu Viṣṇu bhaṭṭar paṇikka Śrī Sundara-śōḷaccē-
20. ri .. .. Vikkirama bhaṭṭar .. .. .. ppaṇiyira paṇiccu tīṭṭu k-
21. kuṭuttōm mahāsabhaiyōm

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) Year 18, the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam in Muḷḷi nāḍu .. .. Ambalavan Iravi of Piṭavūr in Piṭavūr nāḍu, to the south of Śōnāḍu
2) (having taken) from us (land) lying in the northern gateway of our village to the west of Kaṭiñjai and to the north of Peññūr *pōḷi*, to the south of the channel called Śrī Vāsudeva vāykkāl and to the east of the ninth sluice called Tiruvālīśvara
3) vati, the land lying to the south called *Kāṇiyār kāṇi* and to the portion running eastwards towards the Kaṭiñjai, one *kāṇi* including $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṇi* of woods and to the south of this. This land lying within these four main boundaries.
4) after having been registered in the *śrīkōyil* properties was bought after being surveyed by the *nilam aḷavu kōl* of our village this one *vēli* of land (was given) as recompense to the deity of
5) Tiruvālīśvaram, on the banks of the Kaṭiñjai (and) a perpetual lamp was to be maintained with one *ulakku* of ghee daily without fail. After setting aside this one *vēli* and two *mā* of land, the remainder of $\frac{3}{4}$ *vēli* and three *mā*, inclusive
6) of land given to the *akanāḷikaiyār, uvaccar* and *sangamas* of this deity of Tiruvālīśvaram, the land gifted by Ambalavan Ravi, of Piṭavūr
7) after setting aside $7\frac{1}{2}$ *mā*, one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai*, the remainder $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā*
8) one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* (was set aside) for food offerings to this deity
9) and for other requirements 30 *kalam* of paddy as *vaṭākkaḍan*, measured by
10) the *marakkāl* holding five *nāḷi*, the yearly dues being 320 *kalam*

11) two *nāḷi* and one *uri* of paddy. This shall be rendered .. .. .. into the ..

12) having taken over 7½ *mā*, one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land as a leasehold,

13) ½ *mā*, one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land shall be held as

14) *kārāṇamai* as long as the moon and sun last by Ambalavan Ṛavi of Piṭavūr and his lineal descendants. This *kārāṇmai*..

15) (order) shall be engraved on the stones of the *śrīkōyil* of

16) the deity of Tiruvālīśvarm by the *vāriyar* .. .. Śrī

17) Kōvaṭi śaṅkara bhaṭa of Śempiyanmhādēviccēri shall act as

18) (a witness). .. .. of Śrī Lōkamahādēviccēri .. .. ..

19) Viṣṇu bhaṭṭa, of Iḷukkāntīram in Śrī Arulmolidēvaccēri shall act

20) (as a witness). Vikkrama bhaṭṭa of Sundaraśōlaccēri shall act (as a witness) .. .. .. having done thus arranged thus

21) the members of the *mahāsabhā* gave this title deed.

No.4 : Inscription dated in the year 18 and day 345 (A.D. 1003-1004).

Script: *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* with an admixture of *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī yāṇṭu patineṭṭu nāḷ munnūṟṟunārpattañcu Śrī Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalattu mahāsabhaiyōm ivar niṟaivara niṟaintu kuṟai vara kkūṭi iruntu .. .. ..
2. kūṭi enikinta[1] iṭam nirāṭi nilaṅkoḷḷaperātākavum ivvūr .. .. vatākavum itir kūvi ēri irunta kuṭikaḷam maṟṟa vari taṇṭukūṟṟa-mum eppērpaṭṭa iṟaiyili koḷḷātolivatākavum ittēvar .. .. ..
3. perupāṭṭam varincu koḷḷa pperuvatākavum ivvūr etir kuṭikaḷuk-kum ippaṭi sarva parihāram paṇṇi sarvvamānyamum uṭpaṭa .. .. .. variyili nilattilum
4. peruvatākavum saptamāṣaprakjñai yiṭuvār ittēaraṭiyāḷ iraṇṭuk-kum iṭuvatākavum ivar yiṟṟukku kaṇkāṇi samvatsaravāriyañcey-yum kaṇkāṇiyōm .. .. ku .. .. rra Maṟalittēvikku viṣu .. .. ..

1. Note the use of Malayalam here.

5. nnirāṭi nalappērkuṭi vēšikkuṭikaḷ nimantakkāruṅ kāraṇmaikāṇi .. .. .. ivvāṇṭu mutal āṇṭu kūṭiyiruntu maṟṟa variyuṭpaṭa eppērpaṭṭārum ivar kūṭi iruntu innālāṇṭuṅkaḷiccāl . .. ..

6. vum vēṇṭuvana tamakku yišam kāṭṭuvārākavum āka ipparišu .. .. šeyyum .. til vanta .. .. .. aḷiyappaṇintārai ppēr ppon patin kalañju ttenḍipaḷiyapperuvatākavum .. .. .. irakka naṭappa upāti

7. kku mēl vēṇṭum .. .. .. ipparišu maticcu kaiyyiṭṭu kkoṇṭu .. Śrī Nittara .. .. yōme kūṭi ttēvatānattār varikkūṟu .. ..[2]

Transalation

1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) Year 18 and day 345. The members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam having assembled in quorum .. .. ..

2) (having decided) that this site with the land and irrigation facilities shall not be enjoyed by me .. .. the tenants who had settled on this land shall not be taxed with levies and other dues (on behalf) of this deity .. .. ..

3) the incomes from these shall be enjoyed by the present tenants and the old tenants. Thus with all the privileges including the *sarvamānya* .. .. .. (and) the land entered into the revenue registers

4) shall be enjoyed towards providing for two *dēvaraḍiyāḷ*, who perform the duties of Saptamāṣaprakjñai. The *kaṇkāṇi* and *samvatsara vāriyan* (member of the Annual committee) officials currently holding office .. .. .. to Maralidēvi for the festival of Viṣu .. .. ..

5) those who make the *nimandas* (regulations) among the *vēši* (vaišya) tenants of Nalappērkuṭi and those enjoying the kāraṇmai-kāṇi rights having agreed to assemble from this year onwards annually and having agreed to share all the taxes and other revenues, shall

6) discuss their requirements again after the expiry of four years .. .. .. those who cause obstruction shall be fined 10 *kaḷañju* of gold per head .. ..

7) for the above requirements .. .. .. having agreed to this and taken over .. .. Šri Nittara .. .. .. the *dēvadāna* officials and those of the tax department having met .. .. ..

2. Continuation lost.

No.5 : Pillar inscription of the Mūṉṟukai mahāsēnai.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Śeṅka .
2. mala ttirumaṭa
3. ntai[2] tāṃ[3] viru
4. mpun tiruvāḷar
5. tinkal śaḍai[4] k-
6. kāntapirān tirup
7. patam viruppāki
8. andha[1] raikḷāl
9. malar tūvi an
10. pātan toḷutētti
11. kkaṉṉaraṇai kkōt
12. tuṟantu Kāṅkēyaṇai
13. kkoṉṟu Kalmāṭavum
14. kai[4] kkoṇṭu kaṭal Vi
15. ḻiñjamaḷittu[5] maṟukaṭal
16. aiyum aḻittu Mātō
17. ttam poṭiya ittu[6] Ma
18. laināṭu koṇṭu
19. Śālai kalamaṟu
20. ttu innukal
21. ttalippa palapōr
22. vaṭatir Vallāṉai
23. kkeṭintuṟantu Va
24. navāsi koṇṭu Ku
25. ccimalaiyān aḻi
26. ttu Uccanti koṇ
27. ṭu etirum oru tavaraki

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1. In Grantha
2. 'ai' denoted by two distinct o̤ singns one after the other.
3. The *puḻḻi* mark is engraved like an i̤.
4. Different form of 'ai' with two o̤ signs one below the other.
5. To be read as viḻiñjamaḷittu.
6. To be read as poṭiyavittu.

28. riyāḻil ttalai
29. ñānar ētti katirko
30. ṇṭa kūrmunai śi
31. ri .. .. .. ḷḷaiyum
32. avan .. .. ivaka .. ..
33. mannar puḷḷicca
34. ntamum viḻuntoṭi kut
35. ti Vātāpiyāṇ
36. aḻittu veṇppa
37. ṭai koṇṭu Puṇa
38. lai Vēntan ..
39. .. ..
40. Malanāṭanum
41. tampiyum virun
42. tamum malai tan
43. nil akapaṭitta
44. Vēṅkar kalattu
45. viritalai vaṭukarai
46. Koṅkalar Kuṭakar
47. kulakkēsariyai ta
48. n kulam aḻittu pā
49. ṇṭi nāṭā pakaiyar
50. kkalinkaḷi Mūṉṟukai
51. Mahasē[1] naiyō
52. m Tiruvālīśvaramu
53. ṭaiya tiripuratānam pa
54. ṇṇina śēvakanār
55. tirumukkāl vaṭṭa
56. mum ittēvar tē
57. vatānaṅkaḷum pa
58. lapaṇi nimantakkā
59. rar Śrī[1] paṇṭāramum
60. Śivappirāmaṇaru
61. m tiruppaṇi śey
62. yun taccar kollaru

1. In Grantha.

63. m tiruvēḷaikkā
64. ran aṟampaṭai pi
65. ṭitta pallāyi
66. ravar kāppu ivvū
67. r ttekku Ambuk
68. kōyil .. .. .. ṅke .. ..
69. mē kāttānukku śantirā
70. ccapalamum āvana
71. vaka Kāḷattiyā
72. num utirapaṭṭi pāṭa
73. āṉaiyum mālaiyu
74. m uḷḷiṭṭa ippari
75. śaraṅkaḷellām pe
76. ruvatāka aḷaippu i
77. śaippun kuṭuttōm
78. Mūnṟukai mahāsē
79. naiyōm

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity!
2) The sacred Goddess
3) residing in the red lotus. who is the
4) favourite of (Viṣṇu)
5) and śiva, who wears the crescent on his hair
6) being fond of laying themselves at the feet of (these two Goda)
7) (accompanied by) the shower of flowers by women and having
8-10) devotedly worshipped at their feet
11) having made the Kannara flee
12) and killing the Gāṅgēya
13) having taken Kalmāḍam
14) having destroyed Viḻiñjam on the sea
15) and the other tiny islands on the sea
16) having crushed Mātōṭṭam and
17-18) taking Malai nāḍu
19) destroying the fleet at Śālai
20) (and) having participated in
21) many other battles
22) in the north, having

23) bound and crushed the Vallān
24) and taking Vanavāsi
25) destroying the ruler of Kuccimalai
26) taking Uccandi
27) and having raised the flag without
28) opposition at Talaiñānar, on
29) the mountain Dhavaḷagiri
30) the sharp edge of the (sword)
31) being thrust everywhere
32) .. .. .. all these kings
33) and their treasures having been
34) surrendered
35) destroying the ruler of Vātāpi
36-37) and taking over his forces

38-45 the ruler of Punalai (and) .. .. .. the ruler of Malai nāḍu and his brother having been imprisoned in the (fortess) on the mountain, having subjucated the annoying *vaṭuka* at Vēṅgar-

46-48 kaḷam (and) the Koṅgalar and Kuḍagar and having put an end to these lineages

49-51 the dauntless soldiers and the residents of the Pāṇḍya nāḍu the great army of the three arms

52-66 This is the protection of Tiruvālīśvaram, its temple and its devotees, who have made many gifts, the *mukkāl vaṭṭam*, the *dēvadāna* of this deity and its establishment with multifarious duties, the treasury, the Śivabrāmaṇas, the carpenters, the stone masons and blacksmiths in the service of the temple, by the many thousands who captured the proud army of Vēḷaikkārar.

67-72 Having been praised in glory by the poet of Kālahasti by composing an *udirapaṭṭi*, far these achievements and for the protection of the Ambu kōvil situated to the south of the village and for enjoying the merit as long as the sun and moon last.

73-79 On an invitation for taking over all these responsibilities and being received with elephants and garlands, we, the Mūṉṟukai Mahāsēnai expressed our willingness.

No.6: Inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, year 11
Script:Tamil and *grantha.*
Language: Tamil
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.141.

No.7: Inscription of the time of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya.
Script: Tamil and *grantha.*
Language: Tamil.
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.160.

No.8: Inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, year 17, day 17 (A.D. 1037)
Script: Tamil and *grantha.*
Language: Tamil.
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.161.

No.9: Inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, year 21 (A.D. 1041-42).
Script: Tamil and *grantha.*
Language: Tamil.
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.170.

No.10: Inscription of Vikrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, year 25.
Script: Tamil and *grantha.*
Language: Tamil
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.187.

No.11: Inscription of Parākrama Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, year 3.
Script: Tamil and *grantha.*
Language: Tamil.
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.196.

No.12: Inscription of śrīvallabha, year 7.
Script: Tamil and *grantha*
Language: Tamil.
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.239.

No.13: Inscription of śrīvallabha, year 9.
Script: Tamil and *grantha*
Language: Tamil.
Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.220.

No.14: Inscription of Māṟavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya, year 7 (A.D. 1187).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] kō Māṟapaṉmarāṉa tribhu[1]vaṉaccakkaravattikaḷ[2] Śrī Vikrama Pāṇṭiya dēvaṟkku yāṇṭu 7 āvatu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīsvaram uṭaiyāṟku
2. Rājarāja[1] erivīra-paṭṭaṇattu niccittakaṇṭa pperunteruvil viyāpāri parikāramaṅkalam uṭaiyān Apayampukkāṉāṉa Atirvīśiyāṭuvāṉ
3. yiṭṭa tiruppūpalakai paṉmāhēśvaraṉ[3] உ[4]

Translation.

1) Hail! prosperity! king Māṟavarman Tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Vikrama Pāṇḍya dēva, in his regnal year seven - to the deity of Tiru-vālīśvaram.
2) the merchant Abhayampukkāṉ otherwise known as Atirvīśiyāḍuvān of Parihāramaṅgalam (residing in) the high street called Niccittakaṇṭan in Rājarāja erivīra-paṭṭaṇam
3) (made a) gift of a sacred stone for perparing flowers. Let this be the protection of the *māhēśvaras*.

No.15: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, year 2 (A.D.1192).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Ccaṭa[2]iyapanmarāna tripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulaiśēkhara[3] dēvarku yāṇṭu 2 āvatu āṇi māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu

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1. In Grantha.
2. The *puḷḷi* mark is engraved on top of the letter.
3. To be read as *panmāhēśvara rakṣai* in the case of Śiva temples. In Viṣṇu temples the phrase *Śrī vaiṣṇavar rakšai* is used. In Buddhist or Jaina shrines the phrase *paḷḷiccangattar rakṣai* is used.
4. Punctuation mark. *Piḷḷaiyar šuḷi*.
1. In grantha.
2. 'ai' with two prongs.
3. To be read as Kulaśēkhara.

uṭa[4]iyār Tiruālīśvaram uṭaiyār śivappirāmaṇaril uṭaiya p[5]iḷḷai Tōḷ[6]anāna Tiruttoṇṭa nampiyēn innāyanār kōyir śīkāriya[7] tēvarkanmi śīmākēsura[8] kaṇkāṇi śeyvāṟku uyaiyanāṭṭu[9] kkuṭutta pariśāvatu innāyanāṟkku kāttikai[10] paṭikku purapaṭṭu tiru ola

2. kkam śeytu amutu śeytarula Irājarāja[4] erivīra-paṭṭaṇattu Ammai Nampar iṭṭa accil nān koṇṭa accu[11] 1 ivvaccu oṉṟukku mātam 1 kku 3 ku[12] nellu ainkuṟuṇiyāka pū oṉṟukku nellu irukalannē[13] tūṇi patakkuṃ[14] innāyanārappan tēvatānattil en paṅkōkariyāl nilam araımaı l/variśaippaṭi nellōṭē kūṭṭi śelavukālālē aḷantu kuṭuppēṇākavum kāṟukku innilattil viḷainta eḷḷil aṉṟāṭu viṟṟa vilai kkuṭuppēnāka

3. vum innilam pāl kiṭakkilum anupōkavirōtamākilum ivupaiyam[15] kuṭuppēnākavum upaiyam muṭṭāmal ikkōyil en paṅku kālē araikkālum innellukku śeluttikkoḷvarākavum ippaṅku śitanmatānam[16] koṇṭārum innellu ippaṭi kaillilum[17] śempilu[18] veṭṭikoḷvarāka sammatittu piṭipāṭu kuṭuttēn Tiruttoṇṭa nampiyēn ivarkaḷukku

Translation.

1) Hail! prosperity! (In the) year 2 of king Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Kulaśēkhara dēva, in the month of *āṇi*, the agreement deed given by Tiruttoṇḍa nambi otherwise known as Piḷḷai Tōḷan, one of the śivabrāhmaṇas in the temple of Tiruvalisaram uṭaiyār, the deity of Muḷḷi nāḍu to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrīmāhēśvara

4. Different form of 'ai'.
5. About 4" of the surface of the stone is undressed and is left blank.
6. An 'i' is engraed by mistake above the letter. Probably the scribe wanted to inscribe 'tōḷi' instead of 'tōḷan'.
7. Tobe read as Śrīkāryam.
8. To be read as Śrīmāhēśvara.
9. To be read as *ubhaiyam iṭṭu.*
10. To be read as *karttikai.*
11. Expressed by a symbol.
12. Contraction for *kuruṇi.*
13. To be read as *irukalanē.*
14. *Puḷḷi* marks used to denote the *anusvara.*
15. To be read as *ivvubhaiyam.*
16. To be read *Śrī dharmadānam.*
17. To be read as *kallilum.*
18. To be read as *śembilum.*

kaṇkāṇi officers of the temple. For the food offerring and proccessional festivities of this deity

2) from the endowment of 1 accu made by Ammai nambar of Rājarāja erivīra-paṭṭaṇam. For this 1 *accu* the interest per month being 5 *kuṛuni* of paddy and for the *pū* (pūja) two *kalam*, one *tūṇi* and one *patakku* of paddy and also my share in the *dēvadāna* land belonging to this deity namely ½ *mā* including the yield of paddy measured out by the *šelavu kāl*, shall be remitted into the temple along with current price of mustard raised from the land in the *kār* season.

3) Even is case this land becomes waste or is without any profitable returns, I agree to render this gift without hindrance along with my share of 3/8 of temple land to be classified as *dharmadāna* by the officials and surrender the paddy as long as the sun and moon last. After having consented to their engraving this transaction on stone and copper thus, I, Tiruttoṇḍa nambi gave them the agreement deed.

No.16: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman kulaśēkhara, year 3 (A.D.1193).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti śrī[1] Tiruāykēvikku[2] mēl kō Cceaṭaiyaaṇmarāna tiripuvana-śakkaravattikaḷ[3] Śrī[1]
2. Kulaiśēkara[4] dēvarkku yāṇṭu mūṇṛāvatu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu[5] brahma-dēś[1]a Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅkalattu .. ..
3. ttāñcēri kirāmarāśan tirumaṭattukku ivvūr nicciccakaṇṭa perun-teruil irukku .. .. ḷ.
4. ḷāyiram uṭaiyān Śēvakattēvan māhēśvirarkku amāvāsi tōṛum pattu kālam amutu śe.
5. yvitāka immaṭattil śiyar piḷḷaikaḷil uṭaiya piḷḷaiyāṇṭārāna Akōra-tēvarum Tiruvālavāy uṭaiya.

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as *Tiruvāykkēḷvikku.*
3. To be read as *Tribhuvanacakraartikal.*
4. To be read as Kulaśēkhara.
5. The ligature 'ṭu' is engraved below the line.

6. yarāna Nēttira tēvarum kunicca pil̤layāna Satāśiva tēvarum ivarkal pil̤laikal̤il Tiruccirrampalam utai
7. yānum Atirvīśiyātuvārumarum ivvanaivarum śantirātittaar amutu śeyya katavarāka kaikkonta ac
8. cu irantum kaikontu kalvu vetti kututtōm ivvanaivōmum

Translation.

1) Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order of king Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvana
2) cakravarttin His Majesty Kulaśēkhara dēva, in the year 3
3) to the Grāmarājan *maṭha* situated in Rājarāja caturēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mul̤l̤i nāḍu
4) (a gift) by Sēvaka dēva, residing in the high streed called Niccittakantan of this village to the *mahaēśvaras* for food offerrings on ten occasions on every *amāvāsya* (new moon).
5) Among the sons of the *Jīyar* of this *matha* (were) Aghōradēva, the son of Utaiya pil̤l̤aiyār Tiruvālavāy utaiyān
6) (and) Sadāśivadēva, the eldest son of Nētradēva and among their sons Tiruccirrambalam utaiyān
7) and Atirīvśiyātuān. All these agreed to render the service of food offerrings as long as the sun and moon last against the
8) two *accu* taken by them. (This) was engraved on stone.

No.17: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, year 3 opposite the year 4 (A.D.1196).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Pūvinkil̤atti mēvi virriruppa mētinimātu nītiyir punarvayar pōr matantai aiyapputt-tiruppamara kkalai matantai vākkinil vil̤anka tiśaiyiru nānkumiśai nilā veriya marai neri val̤ara manu neri tikal̤a marai neri ccamayankal̤ārum tal̤aiya kānal vēnkaiyai vil̤alatantu mīnan kali kāśalattu virriruya ēnakiri śūnantal̤ēka el̤u pol̤il venkutai nilal śenkōl natappa kotunkali natunari netumpil ttoniya villavar śempiyar virātavar pallavar ti

1. In grantha.

2. ṛaiyuṭan muṛai muṛai paṇiya iru nemiyaḷavu moruneṭi yōṅka innaḷutakiya innamutākiya iyaliśai nāṟa maṉṉi vaḷar maṇi muṭi śūṭi viḷaṅkiya maṇiyaṇi vīrasiṃhāsanattu vīṟṟiruntaruḷiya Śrī Kō Ccaṭaiyapaṉmarāna tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulaśēkara-dēvarkku yāṇṭu 3 vatin etir nālāmāṇṭu kaṛkaṭaka nāyarru pat-inmūṉṟān tiyatiyum pūrva pakṣā[1]ttu tuvādeśiyum tiṅkaḷ kkiḷa-maiyum peṟṟa kēṭṭai nāḷ Muḷḷi nāṭṭu piramadēśam Śrī Irāśarāśa caturvēdimaṅkalattu māsapaiyōm[2] innāṭṭu uṭa[3]iyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭa[4]iya

3. kōyil piḷḷaiyār śaṇṭēśurapiḷḷaiyāṛku tirumaṭaviḷākamāka viṟuk-kuṭutta nilattukku perunāṅ kellaiyāvatu ānaiyōṭu vāśalilē niṉṟu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiyār kōyilukku ppōkira peruvaḻikku mēṟkkum ttennellai peruvaḻikke niṉṟu kīḻttalayāl terku nōkki. nārpattinārkōl ellayil nāṭṭina tiruccūlakkallukkum mēr talaiyal ippōḻiyilē niṉṟa teṟku nōkki nā

4. ṟptinkōl ellaiyil nāṭṭina[5] kkallukku vaṭakkum āka ittiruccūlakkallu iraṇṭu vaṭakkum mēl ellai mun tēvatānattil kīḻ irakāriyavaḻik-koḷukāl nōkkattukku kkiḷakkum vaṭa ellai pōḻikku tterkum innān-kellaikkuṭpaṭṭa taṟaiyum ittaṟaiyil mēnōkkina maramum kīnōk-kina kiṇarum ippōḻiyum uṭpaṭa viṟṟu kkuṭuttōm Śrī Irāja

5. irāja caturvētimaṅkalattu mā sabhaiyōm ippaṭi viṟṟu kuṭutta iraikku pporuṭśelavāvitu ittēvaṟku muṉṟāvatu Tirumaṇikkayattilē uṭaiyān aṟivimuntāy perupāṇi prapantattile niṉṟiṭattu ariśittē-vaikkum akara-ttuṇṭattukkun tayiḷaṭal mutaliyār irāśaṅkapan-marku viṟṟu kkuṭutta innilattuk-

6. ku ituvē vilaiyōlaiyum poruṭ celavōlaiyum āvatākavum ituvallātu vēṟu vilaimāvaṟutī pporuṭcelavōlai kāṭṭavum kāṇavum kaṭamai yiṟuttu vilaikkuṟa viṟṟu pporuḷaṟa kkoṇṭu viṟṟu vilaippiramāṇam paṇṇa kkuṭuttōm śaṇṭēśurapiḷḷayārku Śrī Irājarāja caturvēdimaṅ-kalattu māsapaiyōm innāṅkellaikkuṭpaṭṭa taṟai kkulaśēkaran tiru-maṭaviḷākam eṉṟu ēṟṟi

7. kkoḷvārākavum innāṅkellakaḷile tiruccūlakallu nāṭṭikkoḷārākavum ippaṭi kalliluñcempilum veṭṭikkoḷvārākavum ippaṭi samatittu viṟṟu

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2. To be read as *mahāsabhaiyōm.*
3. 'ai' with two prongs one after the other.
4. Different form of 'ai' as a single letter.
5. Space for three *akṣaras* is left blank here.

kuṭuttōm Śrī Irāja Irāja catuvētimaṅkalattu[1] māsapaiyōm ivai Pāppākuṟicci Ttāmōdaran āṭkoṇḍavilli sōmayāji eḻuttu ivai kōṟōvi Poḻiyaniṉṟān eḻuttu ippaṭikkivai Ātanūr Tiruveṇkāṭan tiruvirāmi-

8. tan eḻuttu Tiruveḷḷarai Śivadēvan Śīkayilāuam uṭaiyān eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai kōṟōvi iḷaiya Śīkumāran eḻuttu ivai Tirunālūr Nārāyaṇan Śrīkṛṣṇan eḻuttu ippaṭikk-ivai Nallūr Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan eḻuttu ivai Pūvanūr Nārāyaṇa sōmayāji eḻuttu ivai Tiruputtūr araiśu Tirumāliruñcōlai Nārāyaṇan eḻuttu ivai Ilaṅkōkkuṭi Sundarattōḍuḍaiyān Tirumayānattaṭi

9. kaḷ eḻuttu ivai Uḷḷūr sōmāsi[2] Nārāyaṇa sarvakratu eḻuttu ivai Emappōlūr Pāṇṭavatūtan eḻuttu ivai Emappērūr Vīran Śrīkṛṣṇan eḻuttu ivai Tirupputtūr koṟṟavilli Nārāyaṇanan eḻuttu ivai Umiyūr Kēsavan eḻuttu ippaṭikku

10. ivai kōṟōvi Śōlaippirān Pōyapiḷḷai eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai .. .. .. Śrīrāma bhaṭṭan eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai Paraviniṉṟān eḻuttu ivvūr Tuṟappili Sarvakratu śrī Kṛṣṇan eḻuttu ivai Veṅkaṭa parpanāpan[3]. Śrī Kṛṣṇan eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai aṭappil sī[4] Kiruṣṇan eḻuttu ivai Dēvadēvēśan eḻuttu ivai Iṟaiyāñcēri Śrī Kṛṣṇan eḻuttu ippaṭikku

11. ñān[5] Tirumāliruñcōlai Nārāyaṇan eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai Matuvālīśvaran Seṉpakanampiy=eḻuttu ivai pūtanūr sīkittan eḻuttu Vīrasvāmi sōmāsi paṭṭan eḻuttu ippaṭi arivēn Nālūr tēvar iḷaiyaperumāḷ eḻuttu ivai pattaṅki Sīkiṭṭan[6] eḻuttu ivai Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan eḻuttu ivai Yiṭaiyāṟṟukkuṭi Suppiramaṇiya sikiṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Uṟuppūr uṭaiyār Śrīkailāsam uṭaiyān sōmayājiyār makan Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan eḻuttu ivai k-

12. Kañcai Keruṭatātan[7] eḻuttu ippaṭikku Kāṭṭukkarai Viṣṇuvin eḻuttu iṟaiyārku Kāliyarāyan eḻuttu Irayyūr Gōvinda śarman makan Sīkumāran[8] eḻuttu ivai kuṟōvi Āḷavantān eḻuttu .. .. vanta śāttu

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1. To be read as *Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimṅgalattu.*
2. To be read as *Sōmayāji.*
3. To be read as Padmanābhan.
4. To be read as *Śrī.*
5. Note the use of Malyalam here.
6. To be read as Śrī Kṛṣṇan.
7. To be read as Garuḍa dāsan.
8. To be read as Śrī Kumāran.

ippatikku ivai Sīkanta[6] ātkondavilli eluttu sentirattu Alañcakōnari Yānadēvar[7] eluttu ippatikku ivai turappil śaṅkara Nārāyana pattaccōmāsi[8] eluttu ivai Muttilāl Nārāyana pattan elut

13. tu ippati arivēn Kīranūr Āticca pattan eluttu ivai Umiyūr Dēvēsan eluttu ivai Vasuvākai[9] Nārāyanan eluttu ivai Matuvāli ālvān eluttu iva pattaṅki Eccamūrti[10] eluttu ivai pōṅkuri Mātavan eluttu ivai Kuntī Anantanārāyana pattan eluttu ivai ppattūr Mātēva sōmāsi eluttu ivai Nāranamaṅkalattu Tirumayan eluttu ivai Vemparrūr Nārāyanan patta akōtirāri[11]

14. .luttu ivai tōrrattu Tāmōtiran eluttu ivai .. .. .. Tāmōtiran eluttu ivai sōmāsi Pallikontān eluttu ippatikku ivai viluppōlai Sīkinnan[12] eluttu Oānūr akirāttirāti[13] Sīkinnan eluttu ivai Itaiyārru nampi Sikinnamātēva pattan eluttu ippatikku ivai Itaiyārrukkuti Tēvatēvēsan eluttu ivai Dānūr Śiṅkō Kumārasuvāmi[14] eluttu ivai Mīyutantai Tivākaran eluttu ipptikku ivai Ārūr .. .. ..[15]

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! Laksmī seated on a lotus bestowing grace, the Goddess of the Earth having united with righteousness and the Goddess of the war turning away in wonder, the Goddess of learning shining forth in words and speech, all the eight quarters being flodded with moonlight of the growth of knowledge, the ways and laws of Manu shining with lustre, all the religious denominations luxuriously flourishing, the kali of the Mīna (Pāndya) having destroyed the scent of the Vēṅgai (the Cōla), (after) reducing Ēnagiri to a vaccum and holding the sceptre with the protective shade of the white umberlla covering the quarters of the earth from the terrible kali age sweeping for a long time and the kings Sembiyan, Virāta and Pallava having come unto submission over and over again.

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6. To be read as Śrīkantha.
7. To be read as Jnānadēvar.
8. To be read as bhatta sōmayāji.
9. There is an 'i' engraved on the top of 'ka'.
10. To be read as Yajñamūrti.
11. To be read as *ahorātrin.*
12. To be read as Śrī Krsnan.
13. To be read as ahōrātrāti.
14. To be read as Kumārasvāmi.
15. Incomplete.

2) without even the alightest delay and the sweet and tasty *Iyal* and *Iśai* growing, and adorned by the crown set with rubies and shining with his consort and after having ascended the heroic lion based throne decorated with rubies and bells, His Majesty king Jaṭāvarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Kulaśēkhara dēva in his year 4 opposite the third (seventh), *karkaṭaka* 13, the *dvādaśi* the 12th day of the *pūrva pakṣa*, Monday, Jyēṣṭhā *nakạstra*

3) the four boundaries of the land sold as *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam* to the Caṇḍēśvara of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram by the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi nāḍu were to the west of the highway running to the south towards the temple of Tiruvālīśvarm from the gateway called Ānaiyōṭu *vāśal*, the southern boundary being the eastern limit of the highway running to the south of the boudary established by fixing stone with *triśūla* marks, (after survey) by the *nārpatinār kōl* (rod measuring 44 feet), and the northern limit of the boundary stone as fixed (after survey) by the *nārpatin kōl* (rod measuring 40 feet). which is a depression facing south

4) and to the north of these two stones with *triśūla* marks; the western boundary lying to the east of the stream running near the pathway called *Iṛakāriyavaḷi*, situated to the east of the former *dēvadāna* lands; the northern boundary lying to the south of the depression and with all the ground within these four boundaries. with the trees that stood on the site and the spring wells, all these was sold

5) by the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam. For these rights, the monetary stipulation being 20 *accu* having been given to Rājāṅgavaroan from the king's camp at Tirumaṇikkayal for the requirements of rice for the *agratuuḍam* (offering of food) to this deity and for the recitation of the *prabhanda* before the deity on the occasion of the third anniversary of the *kalyāṇōtsava*; and for the land thus sold

6) this alone shall be the sale-deed and the receipt without any other document (authorising) the collection of dues and incomes and after taking the money and having sold this land, we arranged this sale deed to be prepared by Caṇḍēśvara (the agent for all transaction in a śiva temple), the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājrāja catrvēdimaṅgalam. The area within these four boundaries shall be named as Kulaśēkharan *tirumaḍaiviḷāgam*.

7) (and the buyer) shall plant stones with *triśūla* marks on the four boundaries. Having agreed thus the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja

caturvēdimaṅgalam effected the sale. This is the signature of Dāmōdaran Āṭkoṇḍavilli sōmayāji of Pāppākuṟicci. (The following are the other signatories of the transaction). Kōṟōvi Poḻiyaninṟān; Tiruveṅkaṭan Tiruvīrāmitan of Ātanūr;

8) Śivadēvan Śrīkailāsam uṭaiyān of Tiruveḷḷarai; Kōṟōvi Śrīkumāran; Nārāyaṇan Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Tirunallūr, śaṅkaranārāyaṇan of Nallūr; Nārāyaṇa sōmayāji of Pūvanūr; Tirumāliruñjōlai Nārāyaṇan of Tirupputtūr;

9) Sundarattōḍu uḍaiyān Tirumayānattaḍikaḷ; sōmayāji Nārāyaṇa sarvakratu of Ullūr; Pāṇḍavadūtan of Emappōlūr; Vīran Śrī Kṛṣṇa of Emappērūr; Koṟṟavilli Nārāyaṇan of Tirupputtūr; Kēśavan of Uniyūr;

10) Kōrōvi Śōlaippirāṉ Pōya Piḷḷai Śrīrāma bhaṭṭa; Paravininṟān; sarvakratu Śrī Kṛṣṇa; Veṅkaṭa Padmanabhan Śrī Kṛṣṇan of the *aḍaippu*; Dēvadēvēśan; Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Iṟaiyañcēri;

11) Tirumāliruñjōlai Nārāyaṇan; Matuvālīśvaran seṉbhaga nambi; Pattaṅki Śrī Kṛṣṇan; Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan; Subrahmaṇya Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Iḍaiyāṟṟukkuṭi; Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan, son of Śrī Kailāsam uṭaiyān sōmayāji of Uruppūr;

12) Garuḍa dāsa of Kañcai; Viṣṇu of Kāṭṭukkarai; Kōṟōvi Āḷavandān; Śrīkaṇṭha Āṭkoṇḍavilli; Aḷañjakōnari of Śendiram; Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa sōmayāji of the *tuṟappu*; Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭan of Muṭṭilāl.

13) Thus I know Āditya bhaṭṭan of Kīranūr; Dēvēśan of Umiyūr; Vasuvākai Nārāyaṇan; Madhuvāli āḻvān; Pattaṅki Yajñamūrti; Mādhavan of Pōṅkuri; Anantanārāyaṇa bhaṭṭan of Kuṇṭūr; Mahādēva sōmayāji of Paṭṭūr; Tirumayan of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam; Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa ahōrātrin of Vempāṟṟūr;

14) Dāmōdaran of Tōṟṟam; Dāmōdaran ; Sōmayāji Paḷḷikoṇḍān; Śrī Kṛṣṇan of the *viḻuppōlai*[1]; ahōrātrin Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Nānūr; Śrī Kṛṣṇa mahādēva bhaṭṭan or Iḍaiyāṟṟu nambi; Dēvadēvēśan of Iḍaiyāṟṟakkuṭi; Siṅkō Kumārasvāmi of Nānūr; Divākaran of Mīyuṭaṅtai; .. .. .. of Ātūr[2]

1. This seems to be the old records department.
2. Incomplete and damaged.

No.18: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, year 9 opposite the the first (A.D.1199).

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti śrī[1] Kō Ccaṭaiyapanmarāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ[2] Śrī Kulaśēkaratēvarku yāṇṭu 9 tāvattin etirāmāṇṭu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu Śrī Rā
2. jarāja ccaturvētimaṅkalattu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil kumpiṭṭirukkum-āṇṭārkaḷ pūjittirukkum kirāmarājan tiru maṭattile
3. enka nāyanār uṭaiya piḷḷaiyāṇṭār tirunāḷ tiruvōṇattu nāḷ itarketirāmāṇṭu appaśi māsam mutal māsam oṇṟukku aimpatu tirup-
4. poḷutu śeyvatāka Malai maṇṭalattu Āḷūrkuṇ ṟan Tēvanānasampantenēn[3] iṭṭa accu pattu ivvaccu pattukkum accu oṇṟukk-upaiya
5. māka māsam oṇṟukku nellu aiṅkuṟuṇiyāka āṇṭoṇṟukku nellu aiṅkalamāka accu pattukum nellaimapatin kalamum upaiya-
6. ttukku accu koṇṭā pirāmiṇar pakkalē pūvāntōṟum varanki[4] iccantānattil Ttirutoṇṭan immāsamutal amutu śeyvippārkaḷānamaikku kalveṭṭina paṭi itu panmāhēsura rakṣai

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! King Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanccakravarti His Majesty Kulaśēkhara dēva (in the) yoar opposite to the year 9 (year 10)

2)

3-4) A gift of 10 *accu* by Aḷurkunran Dēva Jñānasambandhan of Malai maṇdalam for the provision of food offerings on fifty occasions during the festival on the day of Tiruvōṇam from the month of Aippasi in the Grāmarājan *matha*, attached to the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam in Muḷḷi nāḍu, where the pilgrims of the temple worship. For this 10 *accu*, the income from one *accu*

5) per month being 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy or 5 *kalam* per annum per *accu*. 50 *kalam* for 10 *accu*

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as Tribhuvanaccakravartikaḷ.
3. To be read as Deva Jñānasambandhanēn.
4. Note the use of Malayalam here.

6) shall be rendered into the hands of the brāhmaṇa, who took over the money from this month for maintaining the food offerings as per the (conditions) of the engraving on stone. This is the protection of the Mahēśvaras.

No.19: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, year 3 opposite the year 7 and day 2690 (A.D.1246 ?).

Script: Tamil and grantha.

Language: Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Pūtalavanitai yētti viḷaṅka mantirapil malar makaḷ śayappaḷaiya malar tām viyappa tantu ppāṭalaṟu śiṟappaṭaiya munnōnti yēliśai nāṭakan=eḷitoṭēr vaḷara vañcinankuṟu matakaḷirivarnda voncina vēṅkai villuṭan oḷippa tattaṭippaṭutta ccakkara-
2. ñcelutta mānilam pāttivar potu aṟa tteyva mērwvāl śeya viḷaiyāṭa oṉaru puri neru śātti iruvakai ppiṟappin munnuḷamārpinān maṟaiyāḷ aṟamāka viśumpin vānaka muḷutum yāka vēḷvi iṭar toṟum iyal aiṁpula naṭakkum arumai śāṉṟu vakai cce-
3. li porum paṭai kuccaṭan pulampa mupōḷal kavitta muḷumati kkavitai ttirunivaśorita virunilavaraippin veṉkali kaṭintu śeṅkōl naṭappa viṉporu sī kāmāra tiruveṉ keṭṭē .. .. makaḷo .. .. latu kaṇṭattu yāvulahē[1] tiru āṇṭār valaṅki aruttinar kā
4. ṭṭa paṇittiṭa muṭimēl aṇimalar kūṭṭi maṇi muṭi śūṭa vaḷar vati mukavari śērar śempiyar tānaṅkiśaippa vīraśiṅkāsanattu mōrunāpanē kaṭṭaḷam iḷavāka naṭatti kaḷaluṭan muṭi śūṭi .. .. .. pōṟṟa ccerumalar tām aṟiyāta pala vēntar aṭi kattōḷum āka munaiyāratoṟi neṟi ka.
5. nkaṇantōṭi makaḷir tilakar tala .. .. vaṭivaikkum ulakamuḷutuṭaiyārōṭum vīṟṟirentaruḷiya māmutal aṭikkāl viḷaṅkiya tērmutal Kō Ccaṭaiyapanmarāna tiripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulaśēkara tēvarku yāṇṭu mūṉṟāvatin etir ēḷāmāṇṭu mārhaḷi māsattu yirupatān tiyatiyum nēyiṟṟu kkaḷamai
6. yum śattamiyum peṟṟa uttiraṭṭāti nāḷ 2690[2] tirupavanaccakkaravatti Kōnērinmaikoṇṭān Tiruvālīśvarattu tēvekanmikaḷukkum

1. In grantha.
2. Expressed by numerical symbols.

tānattārkkum innāyanārkku amutupaṭi ariśi kutti varukiṛa tēvaraṭiyār vaśam nelvittu ariśi aḷavu koḷka ituvē piṭipāṭā

7. Ka koṇṭu kallile veṭṭi kkuṭutta ippaṭi śeyvippatāka nām śiṛukkan kiḷai poti viṭṭōm ippaṭikku Ccaiyarāyan eḻuttu nān .. .. tiruvāymoḻintaruḷittu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāḷīśvaram uṭaiya nā

8. yanār kōyil mēr ttalai Ccuttamallimaṅkalattu Śrī urudra.[3] sī māhēśvararōm eṅkaḷukku yikkōyilil tēvaraṭiyārai kkoṇṭu innāyanārkku amutupaṭi ariśi kutti aḷappippateṉṟu nānē prasātañ-ceytaruḷiya tirumukamum śētuṅka nāṭṭu tiruvaṭikaḷ santānapaṭiyum.

9. yi ttēvaraṭiyārkku cantirātittar uḷḷa pakkal amutupaṭikku ariśi kutti yaḷappārhaḷāka kkal veṭṭi kkuṭukkav-eṉṟu oṅkaḷukku tirumukam tantu nāṅkaḷum kōyil piccā mutalikaḷukkun innāyanār śīyapiḷḷai- kaḷuṅ kūṭi yiruntu tiramukappaṭiyēy kalveṭ-

10. ṭi kkuṭuttamaikku ippaṭi ariśi kuttum iṭattu paṇṭāṇṭu vaḷi naṭai vitta nellukku kkuṛavān kūli kkalattukku kuṛuṇiyāka koṇṭu añcil iraṇṭin kīḻ uḷḷa ariśi variyara kutti ppalakai talaiyilē yaḷappārkā avum ippaṭikku Arulāla Nā-

11. ṛpetteṇṇāyira ceikaraṇattān[4] eḻuttu ikkōyil taccāsāriyan koṟṟan Ponmalai āna Tiruttoṇḍa ācāriyan eḻuttu[5]

Traslation

1 - 5) Euology of the king.

5) King Jaṭāvarman tribhuvanacakravartin His Majesty Kulaśekhara dēva (in the) year 3 opposite the year 7, Mārgaḷi (Mrgaśīrṣa) 20, Sunday

6) and saptami (seventh tithi), uttirattadi (uttara āṣāḍha), and day 2690. Tribhuvanacakravarti Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍan's letter of authority to the *dēvakanmi* and trustees of Tiruvāḷīśvaram to the effect that they may take the (responsibility) of measuring out the paddy to the *devarḍiyār* of the temple who pound the rice for the food offerings to this deity and receive the rice for the food offerings to this deity (from them) after taking this as the letter of authorisation

7) and having caused this to be engraved on stone and carried out accordingly we (the following) make this known as *śiṛukkan kiḷai poti*. Thus

3. To be read so Śrī Rudrar.
4. To be read as śrī karaṇattān.
5. Punctuation mark expressed by a *Piḷḷaiyār śuḷi*.

this is the signature of Jayarājan. I, ..., having taken the royal order

8) that the dēvaradiyār of the temple of Tiruvālīśvarm, in Mulli nādu shall be made to measure out the pounded rice for food offerings to the Śrirudras and Śrī māhēśvaras of Suddhamallimangalam, situated in the northern limit of the temple, and, having personally carried it out through the royal order and by the lineal right of the king of Jayatunga nādu,

9) that these *dēvaradiyar* shall pound and measure out the rice for food offerings and that this shall be engraved on stone, as per the royal order issued to us, we along with the *mudalis* of the Bhikṣā (maṭha) and the *jīyar* of this deity having assembled

10) had this engraved on stone according to the royal order. Thus the wages for pounding the rice are as of old at the rate of one *kuṛuṇi* per *kalam* and the *dēvaradiyar* shall measure 2/5 after pounding in the court yard of the temple. Thus

11) this is the signature of th temple accountant Arulāla Nāṛpatteṇṇāyiravan. This is the signature of the chief carpenter Korran Ponmalai Tiruttoṇḍācāryan.

No.20: Inscription of Tribhuvanacakravarti Kulaśēkhara.

Script: Tamil and *Grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved and very little can be made out. It seems to refer to the year 13 opposite the year 14 of the king and also to a gift of some money by a *dēvaradiyār* to the templa.

No.21: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks : This inscription is unfinished and cites the first three lines of the *praśasti* of the king beginning with the words 'pūtalavanitai' (cf No.19).

No.22: Inscription of Jaṭāvaṛman Kulaśēkhara.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: Unfinished. The inscription cites the first two lines of the *praśasti* of the king beginning with the words 'Pūtalavanitai'. (cf. No. 19.)

No.23: Inscription of Śrī Kulaśekhara.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved and not many details can be made out. It seems to cite the *praśasti* of the king and also to a gift of money.

No.24 : Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Year 4 (A.D. 1219)

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Māṟavanmarana tirupuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śrī[1] śōnāṭukoṇṭaruḷiya Suntara Pāṇṭiya dēvaṟku yā[2]ṇṭu
2. nālāvatu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār kōyilil śivappirāmiṉan Paṭṭaṇa uṭaiya piḷḷaiyāna Nālāyira paṭṭa[3]
3. nēn sīkāriyam[4]śeyvār Tiruvālīśvaramuṭaiya[5] tēvakanmikaḷ śrī-māyēsura[6] kaṇkāṇi Śeyvāṟkku tīṭṭu kuṭutta pariśā
4. vatu kāttikai māsattu aviṭṭattu nāḷ puṟapaṭṭaruḷi eluntaruḷa amutu śeytaruḷa paṇṇavi-
5. ttu Paḷḷiccēy Vikkiraman Āticcatēvanāna Akōradvār iṭṭa accu oṉṟu nān kaikkoṇṭē
6. n oṉṟukku paliśai uḷakku nellu aiṅkalamum en paṅkil vilai oṟṟi tanmaśātanam kā

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1. In grantha.
2. Tripartite form of 'ya'.
3. To be read as bhaṭṭan wherever paṭṭan occurs.
4. To be read as Śrī kāryam.
5. Engraved above 'dēvakanmi' and below kōyil in lines 2-3.
6. To be read as māhēśvara.

7. ṇiyānālum ivvuṭai nellui munnāka cceluttuvarākavum immāmattu muppatānti-
8. yati Tiruvampalam uṭaiyār purapaṭṭaruḷi amutu śeytaruḷa innāy-anār aṭiyān Āḷumpirān Amuta
9. pperumāḷāna Avani Nārāyaṇa paṭṭan iṭṭa accu oṉṟum śiriyān Ulakuṭaiyānāna Tiruñāna
10. sampanta paṭṭanēn nān kaikkoṇṭu āṇṭu oṉṟukku upaiyam aḷap-pēnāna nellu aiṅkala
11. mum mutalikaḷukku ippaṭikku ivai paṭṭaṇa uṭaiya piḷḷaiyāna Nāl-āyira paṭṭan eḻuttu śiṟiyān Ula
12. kuṭaiyānāna Tiruñānasampenta paṭṭan eḻuttu[1]

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māravarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sudara Pāṇḍya dēva, who was pleased to take Cōla nāḍu and represent it (in) his year
2) four, Nālāyira bhaṭṭa or Paṭṭaṇa uṭaiya piḷḷai, a Śivabrāhmaṇa in the temple of the deity of Muḷḷi nāḍu (gave an agreement to)
3) the śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṇkāṇi officials of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram
4) (to the effect that) he will measure 5 *kalam* and one *uḷakku*
5) of paddy, being the interest on one *accu* endowed by Vikraman
6-8) Ādityan of Paḷḷiccēy for the food and processional festivities of the deity on the day of the dhaniṣṭhā *nakṣatra* in the month of Karttikai. (The paddy shall be measured) on the 30th day of the month in advance, after setting appart his share.
9-12) (Another) endowment of one *accu* for the food offerings to the deity by Amuda perumāḷ Avani Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭan was taken over by Ulakuṭaiyān Tirujnānasambandha bhaṭṭan, who was to render 5 *kalam* of paddy to the *mudalis*. Thus this is the signature of Nālāyira bhaṭṭan or Paṭṭaṇa uṭaiya piḷḷai. The signature of Ulakuṭaiyān Tirujñānasambandha bhaṭṭan.

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1. The full stop represented by a *Piḷḷaiyār śuḷi*.

No.25: Inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Year 5, makara 4, su. di. 2, Dhaniṣṭha (Monday, 28th December A.D. 1220).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Māṛavanmarāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ Sōnāṭu koṇṭaruḷiya Śrī Sundara Pāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu 5 vatu makara nāyiṟṟu nālāntiyatiyum
2. ppūrva[2] pakṣattu iraṇṭām pakkamum tiṅkaḷ kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa aviṭṭattu nāḷ Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil Vīra paṇṭi
3. tan tiru maṭattil pūśittirukkum tēśāntira ttapaśiyaṟku māsant-oṟum iṭayuvara amutu śeytaruḷun tiruppēr patinaiñcukkū amutupaṭik
4. Ku Tirumukkuṭal Ulakuṭai Mukkōkiḷanaṭi Īśuram uṭaiyār kōyilil tēvarṭiyāḷ Ariyāḷ Puvaniyāna Āṭkoṇ
5. ṭa nāyaka māṇikkam iṭṭa accu mūṉṟukkum accu oṉṟukku upaiyam māsattu aiṅkuṟuṇi nellāka vanta nellu kkalanēy mukkuṟu
6. ṇiyum āṇṭār Atirvīśiyāṭuvār kaikkoṇṭu māsantōṟum amutu sēvippār ākavum ippaṭi śantirātittarkaḷ pakal śelvitānamaikku ippaṭikk-ivai
7. Atirvīśiyāṭuvār eḻuttu Tiruvālavāy uṭaiyār taṟkuṟi mātteṟintēn ivai Uṭaiya Piḷḷai en eḻuttu ippaṭikku-ivai śēramān Tōman eḻuttu
8. ippaṭikku ivai Tatpuruṣa tēvan eḻuttu ippaṭikku-ivai Akōra tēvan eḻuttu ippaṭikku innāyanmār śolla iveḻuttu veṭṭinē
9. a Nāṭṭu nampi nāyanāna Aiññūṟṟuva ācāriyāḷ eḻuttu

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māṛavarman tribhuvanacakravartin His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya dēva, who took Cōḷa nāḍu (in his regnal year3, Makara 4, the
2) second half of the *pūrva pakṣa*, Monday, Aviṭṭam (Dhaniṣṭhā)

1. In grantha.
2. To be read as pūrva.

3-5) a gift of three accu by Ariyāḷ Bhuvani Āṭkoṇḍanāyaka māṇikkam, a *dēvaraḍiyāl* of the temple of Ulakuṭai Mukkōkkiḷānaṭi īśvaram temple at Tirummukkuṭal for the regular monthly feeding of 15 pilgrims from other areas worshipping and residing in the Vīra paṇḍitan *maṭha* attached to the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram. The income from one *accu* per month being 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, in all one *kalam* and three *kuṟuṇi*

6) having been enjoyed by Atirvīśiyāḍuvār, (he) shall cause to maintain this feeding charity. Thus having effected this on long as the sun and moon last, this is

7) the signature of Atirvīśiyāḍuvār. Tiruvālavāy uḍaiyān prepared the true copy of this document. This is the signature of Uḍaiya Piḷḷai. Thus this is the signature of śēramūn Tōman.

8) Thus this is the signature of Tatpuruṣa devan. Thus this the signature of Aghōra dēvan. This was engraved from the dictation of these

9) by me Nāṭṭunambi nāyan Aiññuṟṟuva ācāryan. This is my signature.

No.26: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220)

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Māṟavanmarana tiripuvanacakaravattikal[2] Śrī śōnāṭu koṇṭa Suntara Pāṇṭiya dēvaṛkku yāṇṭu 5 vatu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Ti-
2. ruvālīśvaram uṭaiyār kōyil kirāmarāśan tiru maṭattu Malai maṇṭa-lattu Paḷḷiccēy Vikkiraman Āticcacēvanāna Akōratēvar immaṭatti-
3. le mahēsura tirupparinị nāḷ tiruvirunt-amutu śeya ivvāṭṭai vaikāśi māsam immaṭattil iṭṭa accu nālu ivvaccu nāluk
4. kum accin vāy māsam oṉṟukku nellu aiṅkuruṇi āka pū vaḷi patin kala nel Tatpuruṣa tēvar santirāccavar[3]
5. ivvaccu nālun kaikkoṇṭu śeluttuvarākavum[4]

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as tribhuvanacakravartikaḷ.
3. To be read as śanirātittavar.
4. Full stop indicated by a piḷḷaiyar suli.

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māṛavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya deva, who took Cōḷa nadu (in his regnal) year 5

2-5) A gift of four *accu* by Vikraman Ādityadēvan Aghōra dēva of Paḷḷiccēy in Malai maṇḍalam for the provision of food to the mahēśvaras on the day of the bharaṇi *nakṣatra* from the month of vaikāśi of this year in the Grāmarājan *maṭha* attached to the temple of Tiruvālīśvarm in Muḷḷi nāḍu. (This charity) shall be maintained as long as the sun and moon last by Tatpuruṣa dēva, who took over the four accu and the income therefore at the rate of five kuruṇi of paddy per month along with 10 *kalam*, being the half yearly income.

No.27: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Year 5 (A.D. 1220).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Savsti Śrī[1] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tiripuvanacakravattikaḷ[2] Śrī śō-nāṭu koṇṭa Suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvaṟku yāṇṭu 5 vatu Muḷḷi nā
2. ṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil Vīra paṇṭitan tiru maṭattil pūśittirukkun tēśāntiri ttapaśiyarukku mā
3. santōṟum amutu śeytaruḷa Malai maṇṭalattu ppaḷḷiccē Vikkiraman Āticca tēvan āna Akōratēvanēn eṅkaḷ nāyanār Tiru
4. ccirṟampalam uṭaiyār piṟanta nāḷ urōsaṇi[3] nāḷ immākēsuvarar mu .. .. accu nālu ivaccu nalum immaṭattil pūśi
5. ttirukkum tapaśiyaril Vākīśan Atirvīśiyāṭuvānēn kaikkoṇṭa .. .. accu oṉṟukku māsam nel
6. lu aiṅkuṟuṇiyāka vanta nellu kkoṇṭu māsattu irupatu tiruppēr amutu śeyvippēnēkavum ippaṭi śantirāticcaval māsantōṟum amutu śēyi
7. ppēnāka kaikkoṇṭēn Atirvīśiyāṭuvānēn ivai Vākīśan Atirvīśiyāṭu-vān eḻuttu mēṟpaṭiyar urōśaṇikku munpu iṭṭa accu nālum

1. In grantha.
2. To be read as tribhyvanacakravartikaḷ.
3. To be read as rōhiṇi.

8. ippōtu iṭṭa accu iraṇṭum āka accu āṟuḷ upayattāl pū oṉṟukku nellu ppatinaiṅkalamāka āṇṭu oṉṟukku nellu muppatin kalamum maṭattār
9. muppatu pēr urōśaṇi nā[1] amutu śellumpaṭikkānamaikku ..[2]

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) fifth regnal year of king Māṟavarman tribhuvanacakraarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya, who took Cōḷa- nāḍu

2-4) I, Aghōra dēvan or Vikraman Āditya dēvan of Paḷḷiccēy in Malai maṇḍalam gifted four accu for providing food to the itenerant monks, who worship in the Vīra paṇḍitan *maṭha* attached to the temple of Tirvālīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu on the occasion of the birth day asterism of our deity (Rohiṇi *nakṣatra*) every month. This four accu having been taken over by

5-9) Vāgīśan Atirīvśiyāḍuvān, one of the monks of this *maṭha* along with the income of paddy five *kuruṇi*, he shall maintain and conduct the feeding charity for twenty persons every month as long as the sun and moon last. This is the signature of Vāgīśan Atirvīśiyāḍuvān. The income from the previous gift of four *accu* and the present gift of two *accu*, in all six *accu*, being 15 *kalam* of paddy per half year and 30 *kalam* per year to be utilised for the provision of food to 30 persons in the *maṭha*.

No.28: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī[3] śōnāṭu koṇṭaruliya suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu 5 vatu Mulli nāttu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvoram[4]uṭaiya nāyanārkku māśi māsam śivarātti[5]
2. rāyinaṉṟu ikkōyilil pūśikku māhēśvarku amutu śeytaruḷa ikkōyilil tēvaraṭiyāḷ Ambattāḷ Śempon Tiyākiyāna Vīrapattira naṅkai

1. Abbreviation for *nāḷ*.
2. Stops abruptly.
3. In grantha.
4. To be read as Tiruvālīśvaram.
5. To be read as Śivarātri.

3. makan Aruḷāla pperumāḷ Satāvāsaka peruāḷum ivan tampimarum ivvāṭṭai paṅkuni māsam iṭṭa accu oṉṟu ivvacc-oṉṟum ikkōyilil
4. Śivappirāmiṉan śēvaka ttēvan Āticca tēvanāna Vīrapattira paṭṭa-nēn kaikkoṇṭu māsattu aiṅkuruṇiyēṭ-āṭi upaiyattāl vanta nel āṇṭoṉṟukku
5. nel aiṅkalamum māśi māsattu Ccivarāttiriyin mun nāḷ āṇṭārkaḷ vaśam iṭṭaḷantu kuṭuppēnāka kkalveṭṭi kkuṭuttēn vīrapattira paṭṭanēn āṇṭārkaḷukku
6. ivai Vīrapattira paṭṭan eḻuttu

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) fifth regnal year of Sundara Pāṇḍya deva, who took Cōḷa nāḍu

2-6) a gift of one *accu* by Arulāla perumāḷ and his brothers, the sons of Ambattāḷ śempon Tyāgi vīrabhandra naṅgai in the month of *paṅkuni* (phalguṇa) for the provision of food to the mahēśvaras of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu on the night of the śivarātri festival in the month of Māśi. This one *accu* having been taken by Sēvaka dēvan or Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭan along with the income in paddy of five *kuruṇi* per month or five *kalam* per annum, he agreed to measure out the paddy on the day previous to the night of the Śivarātri festival to the *āṇḍār* of the temple. (I) had this engraved on stone. This is the signature of Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭan.

No.29: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. sī[1] kō Mārapanmarāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śōnāṭu koṇ-ṭaruḷiya śrī[2] suntara Pāṇṭiya dēvaṟkku yāṇṭu ancāvatu paṅkuni māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭa[3]iyār kōyi

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1. To be read as śrī.
2. In grantha.
3. 'ai' as a single letter.

2. lil śivappirāminan Nārāyanakkalam Utaiya ppillaiyāna Kulaśēkara pattan[4] eluntarulivicca Ālālasundara nāyanārkku Paravai nācciyārai[5] eluntarulivicca Tirumukkō-
3. Kilānati[6]īśaram utaiya nāyanār kōyilil tēvaratiyāl Ariyāl Puvaniya Pāntiyāna Ātkontanāyaka mānikkam innāyanārkkum innācciyārkkum oru śā-
4. vati katti amutu śeytarula śrīppantārattile śelvitāka tiru kkaliyānattinanru amutupatikku ival nīrvārtta[7] accu āru ivvaccu ārum śikāriya
5. m[8] ikkōyilil śivappirāminar ettupankōrum śī kāriyam śēvan[9] tēvakanmikalukku ivvaśatamāyitta mutalāka kututtu śantirātittavar śelvatāka nā
6. .. .. .. laka i .. .. nar kalañju .. .. .. mūvatta .. .. .. vaittōm ettuppankil śivappirāminarum Śrī māhēśvara
7. kankāni śeyvōmum ippatikk-ivai Āticcan Pakavatiyālvān eluttu ippatikk ivai kotukula pattan eluttu
8. ippatikk-ivai pattana utaiya pillaiyāna Nālāyira pattan eluttu ippatikk-ivai Ātittan amutanāna Tiyākavinōta pattan eluttu
9. vāśiriyan Sūriyatēvan Nālāyira pattan eluttu Niccittakanta pattar makan Tiruvikkiramanukkāka Alakiyan eluttu
10. ivai Mulli nāttu kkilavan eluttu ippati kalvettinēn ikkōyil taccāśāriyan Nāttu nampi eluttu ippati
11. kk-ivai Utaiya pillayāna Tīppu śikhāmani pattan eluttu .. .. ..
12. yan eluttu ippatikku ivai ikkōyilukku .. .. ..
13. Vīrapattira pattan eluttu ivai Kulaśēkara pattan
14. aiññūrruva āsāriyan eluttu

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4. To be read as bhattan *wherever* pattan occurs,
5. This was the name of the wife of Jñānasambandhar.
6. The form of 'ī' *is note worthy.*
7. Parallel to the Sanskrit expression 'udaka pūrvam'
8. To be read as śrī karyam.
9. To be read as Śrī kāryam seyvan.

Translation

1) His Majesty king Māṛavarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, who took Cōḷa nāḍu (in his regnal) year 5, and month *panguni*

2-6) An endowment of six *accu* by Ariyāḷ Bhuvaniyapāṇḍi Āṭkoṇḍa Nāyaka Māṇikkam, a *dēvaradiyār* of the Tirumukkōkiḷānaṭi Īśvaran temple remitted into the temple treasury with libation of water for the provision of food offering on the day of the sacred marriage of Alalasundara nayanar and Paravai nacciyar, who had been consecrated in the temple of Muḷḷi nāḍu (Tiruvālīśvaram) by Kulaśēkhara bhaṭṭa or Uṭaiya Piḷḷai of Nārāyaṇakkaḷam, a śivabrāhmaṇa, who had also arranged for the procession of the deities by constructing a *śāvaḍi* (choultry). The six *accu* were taken over as capital by the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas and the *tēvakanmi* officers who performed the duties of *śrī kāryam* in the temple. This was to be maintained by the śivabrāhmaṇas and the śrī māhēśvara kaṇkāṇi officers on long as the sun and moon last.

7-14) (The following were the signatories). Āḍityan Bhagavati āḻvān; kodukula bhaṭṭan; Paṭṭaṇa uṭaiya piḷḷai or Nālāyira bhaṭṭan; Āditya Amudan Tyāgavinōda bhaṭṭan; Ācāryan Sūrya dēvan Nālāyira bhaṭṭan; Muḷḷi nāṭṭu-kkilavan; Nāṭṭu nambi, the chief carpenter of the temple, the engraver of this; Uṭaiya piḷḷai tirppuśikhāmaṇi bhaṭṭan; Vīrabhada bhaṭṭa, the śaivācārya of the temple ; and kulaśēkhara bhaṭṭan Ainnūṟṟuva ācāryan

No.30: Inscription of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Pūmaruviya tirumaṭantaiyum puvinaṭantaiyum puyatiruppu nav-aruviya kalai maṭantaiyum jayamaṭantaiyun alañciṟappa kōḷānta śina puliyun koṭuncilaiyun kulaintoḷippa vāḷānta poṟkiri mēl varikkayalkaḷ viḷaiyāṭa iruṅkaṭal vaḷayattin ittaram peruka kkaruṅkali kaṭintu śeṅkōl naṭappa voru kuṭai niḻalil iru nilan kuḷira mūvakai ttamilum[2] uraimaiyil viḷaṅka nāl vakai

1. In Grantha.
2. The three types of Tamil : *Iyal, Isai* and *Nāṭakam*.

vētamun[3] viṉṟuṭan vaḷara aivakai vēḷviyum[4] śeyvinai yiyaṟṟa aṟu vakai śamayamum[5] aḻakuṭan takala ēḻu vakai ppāṭalum[6] iyaluṭan parava aṇṭi

2. śai[7] yaḷavun cakkranacella Koṅkaṇar Kaliṅkar Kōsalar Mālavar Śiṅkaḷar Teliṅkar śīnar Kuccarar Villavar Makatar Vikkalar Śembiyar Pallavan utaviya pārttivar ellām murai viṭṭaruḷena oruvan munn oruvar murai murai kaṭavatan tiṟai kuncol ilankoḷi maṇi muṭi Intiran muṭṭiya pulankatir mārpinir poliyappaṇi malar ttāmarai ttiśaimukan paṭaitta Manu neri taḻaippa maṇi muṭi śūṭiya ponni śūl nāṭṭil poliyānai poykala kaṉṉi śūḻ nāṭṭir kayalanai kanavalar veñcina vivuḷiyum vēḷamum parappi ttañcaiyum urantaiyun centilal parappi kkāviyu-nila muka-

3. ṉṟuka kavi niḻalaṟṟa vāḻiyumāṟu maṭaippānaka tirukūṭamumāmatiḷum kōpuramum iraṭāṅku māṭamumāḷikaiyu maṇṭapa maṇṭapaṅkaḷ palayiṭatattu Ccempiyanai vēḷaikoṇṭavan tēviyanai vēḷakālaṟṟi inpala pon muṭi paṟittu ppāṇanukku kkuṭuttaruḷi pāṭaruñciṟappir porutivāṉṟōr ukapparusai yāyirattaḷiyil śōravaḷavanapiṣēka maṇṭapattu vīrar apiṣēkanceytu pukaḻ virittu viḷaṅkiya maṇiyaṇi vīra siṃhāsanattu vaḷaṅkolu kaviri virimaruṅkil iśaippa kaṭalen muḻukku kaliṅalli panai vaṭa pula vēntar maṇippūpayam-

4. yar ilatuṉṟa kulanuyarinu tēviyar toḷutu niṉṟētta ulakamuḻutuṭaiyā-rōṭum viṟṟiruntaruḷina Śrī Kō Māṟapanmarāna tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śōnāṭu koṇṭaruḷiya śrī Sundara Pāṇṭiya dēvaṟkku yāṇṭu aiñcāvatu puraṭṭāti māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu brahmadēśam Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅkalattu mutar śēri Ppāppāṅkuṟicci Āṭkoṇḍavilli sōmayāji Gaṅgādhara ppiḷḷaikku im- Muḷḷi nāṭṭu irājarāja erivīra paṭṭaṇattu vīrakāvalar kkōṭṭaiyil Śīvallavan aḻakan āna Malaiyarāyanēn yivarkku kārāṇmai kkāṇikku viṟṟu kkuṭutta pū-

5. mikku perunāṅkellaiyāvatu kīḻ ellai śantana ttāḻvukku mēṟkkum, teṉṉellei Vikkirama Pāṇṭiypallavataraiyan kuḷattu ayalil śiṟukkai

3. The four vedas. The upa vedas are also four: *Āyur, Dhanur, Artha and Gandharva.*

4. The five *yajnas*: Brahma, Daiva, Pitr, Bhūta and Prēta.

5. The six *samayas* : Bhairava, Vāma, vālamukha, Māvirāda, Pāśupata and śaiva.

6. The six *svaras*: Ṣaḍja, Ṛṣabha, Gandharva, Madhyama, Pancama' Daivata and Niṣadha·

7. The eight quarters.

tiruccūlakkallukku nōkkina mēkku Arulāparaṇa ppallavataraiyan viḷaiyil ten vēlikku nērāna viḷayil vēlikkum Appāṇṭān kuḷattu naṟpanayāṟṟukku vaṭakku mēl ellai śempēṟṟil kkīḷai kkoḷukālukku kkiḷakkum vaṭav-ollai Velankapaḷḷi vāykkalūr nāyanār tēvatā namāka nāṭṭi kuṭutta tiru ccūlekkallukkum vinai āṟṟukkum teṟku ippaṭi perunāṅkellaikk- uṭpa

6. ṭṭa Appāṇṭān kuḷattukku kkiḷakku vaṭapāśiru kkuḷamum nenśey punśey un[1] karamē taṭaiyum kīnōkkina kiṇaṟum mēnōkkina maramum uḷpaṭa viṟṟu kkuṭuttēn nammil iśaintu vilai maticca aṉṟāṭu nallānaiyaccu 120 ivvaccu nūṟṟirupattukkum poruḷālēy ivvellaikku uḷpaṭṭa nilattil munpu vitta Uṭaiya Pāṇṭavan kkuṭuppitta accu aimpatum nān ivar pakki munpu koṇṭa tani kkaṭamaikku śelaviṭṭa accu 40 m nān kair[2] koṇṭa accu 80 āka accu nūṟṟirupatum vilai pporuḷāka śātti vilaikkuṟa viṟṟu

7. pporuḷara kkoṇṭu viṟṟu vilai pramāṇam paṇṇi kkuṭuttamaikkum ipparisu viṟṟu kuṭutta innāṅkellaikkuṭpaṭṭa nilattukku nān koṇṭuvarum kaṭamaiyir Gaṅgādhara piḷḷai uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiyanāyanār Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa nācciyāṟkku amutupaṭi śāttupaṭi śella vēḷattu vēṇṭun nitta nimentankaḷukku nān koṇṭuvarum kaṭamai munpu paḷārampamāy viḷaiñcu varkira nilattukku kkāṟ māttāl nellu aiṅkalamum pāśāna māttāl nellu aiṅkalamum āka kaṭamai .. .. putu .. .. rāy vanta nilattukku mutal pū māttāle nellu

8. iṭuvārākavum ipperunāṅkuḷppaṭṭa punśeykaḷukku māttāl tiramam iṟuppārākavum nīr nilattil eḷḷu viḷaicca nilattukku oṉṟukāl kaṭamai iṟuppārākavam tōṭṭa payir śēyil māttāl arai ttiramam iṟuppārākavum ippaṭi irukkum maṭattu ppayir ēttu ppayir koṇṭa nilattukku ikkaṭamai payirākavum ippaṭi nān koṇṭuvarun kaṭamai yikkōyir ppiḷḷaikkāka nān kiriyam paṇṇi kkuṭuttamaikku ..[3]

Translation

1-4) Hail! Prosperity! The Goddess of wealth abiding in the lotus[4], the Goddess of the Earth, residing in his arm; the Goddess of the Arts abiding in the tongue and the Goddess of Victory growing in their

1. To be read as *nañjai puñjaiyum.*
2. To be read as *kaiyyil.*
3. Incomplete.
4. The whole *praśasti* is in *Agaval* metre and is a creditable work.

excellence the angry tiger filled with the strength and the fierce bow hiding themselves, being shattered; the scaly fish sporting on the shining golden mountain (Meru); virtue increasing abundantly on the earth surrounded by the expansive occean; the righteous sceptre swaying (in all directions), driving away the black kali, the wide earth be coming cool under the shade of (his) single parasol; the three kinds of Tamil glowing in order; the four kinds of Vēdas being learnt by (students) and growing simultaneously; the five kinds of sacrifices being performed in accordance with the established practice, the six kinds of faith being finely expounded; the seven kinds of music spreading along with the *iyal*

2) (his) wheel moving as far as the eight quarters; all kings such as (those of) Koṅkaṇa, kaliṅga, kōsala, Māluva, Siṅgala, Teliṅga, Śīnar, Gurjjarar, Villavar, Magadhar, Vikkalar, Śembiyan and Pallava, bringing with them the tributes due, and rushing before one another and praying for places to be assigned for their residence; the beautiful garland set with lustrous gems put on by Indra[3] shining on his breast (the pāṇḍya) was crowned to widen the path of Manu who was brought into existence by Brahmā residing on the dew-settled lotus flower; causing the tiger to be removed from the country surrounded by the Ponni (the Kāvēri) and the fish to spread in the country sorrounding Kanni (Kanyākumārī), sending forth his angry steed and and elephants and setting on blazing fire (the cities of) Tañjai and Urandai (Tanjore and Uraiyūr) and causing the *kāvi* and *nīlam* (flowering plants) to loose their bloom.

3. destroying tanks, rivers and other water sources and breaking down several halls, ramparts, towers, theatres, palaces and pavilions and causing to flow rivers of tears shed by the queens of kings who were not friendly to him and ploughing (their lands) with asses and sowing the seeds of *kavadi*, and fighting with the Śembiyan (Cōla) so as to deprive him of his golden crown set with gems and bestowing (it) on the Bāṇa, performing the anoinment of heroes in the consecration hall of the unfriendly

3. The Smaller Sinnamanur Plates refer to the wearing of the garland of Indra and of accuring one half of his throne among the achievements of un named mythical Pāṇḍya kings. The Sanskrit portion of the Larger Sinnamanur Plates refer to the wresting of the garland of Indra by a Pāṇḍya king and of another's sitting on his throne. The Tamil portion mentions a Pāṇḍya king appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace. The The Velvikkudi Plates also refer to a Pāṇḍya king sharing with Indra one half of his throne and his garland. In Rājēndra's *praśasti*, the garland of Indra is stated to have been taken from the king of Ceylon, with whom a Pāṇḍya king had formerly deposited it.

valavan (Cōḷa) at Āyirattaḷi the glory of which is hard to be extolled, whose golden walls touch the sunny sky, (and thus) extending (his) fame, (he) cut off the fearful heads of enemy kings.

4) Having reduced (them) to poverty, the queens of high lineage standing up in obeisance and seated beside the consort of the (whole world), king Maravarman tribhuvanaccakravarti, who took the Cōla nāḍu and represented it His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya dēva (in his) year 5, month Puraṭṭādi, (the following are) the four boundaries of the land sold as *kārāṇmai kāṇi* (lease hold) by śrī vallabhan Aḻakan Maḻavarāyan of Vīrakāvalar kōṭṭai (fortress) in Rājarāja erivīra paṭṭaṇam in Muḷḷi nāḍu to Āṭkoṇḍavilli sōmayāji Gaṅgādhara piḷḷai of Pāppākuricei, the first *cēri* of Rājarāja - caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi nāḍu; East-to the west of

5-6) the sandal grove; South ; the land near the tank called vikrama Pāṇḍya Pallavadaraiyan facing west towards the boundary stone with *triśśula* marks; North; the southern *vēli* in the land cultivated by Arulabharana Pallavataraiyan and the *vēli* near the tank called Appāṇḍār and to the north of the stream called *Narpanai;* west: to the east of the eastern channel in Śemparru and to the north of the area between the boundary stone, the *dēvadāna* land in Vēlaṅgapaḷḷi and to the south of the river Vinai. (This land) situated to the east of the tank called Appāṇḍār and within these four boundaries along with all irrigation facilities, spring wells and the trees that stood on the sites was sold (by me) after valuation for 120 current *ānai accu*: The amount paid formerly by Uḍaiya Pāṇḍavan of 50 *accu*, the amount spent towards *katamai* 40 *accu* and 30 *accu* now taken by me, in all 120 *accu* (and) having sold this for this price and taken the money (I) prepared the sale deed and gave it (to the buyer)

7-8) The *kaṭamai* dues on these lands shall now be paid by Gangadhara pillai at the rate of 10 *kalam* of paddy in Kār and Paśān seasons by the respective measures for the food and other offerings and requirements of the God and Goddess of Tiruvālīśvaram. (He) shall also pay 1 *tiramam* of tax on *puñcey* land, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce of seasamum from the wet land and in the case of garden produce $\frac{1}{2}$ *tiramam* and for the crops raised seasonally the tax shall be paid in kind. Thus I have seld this (property) on behalf of the *piḷḷai* of this temple.

No.31: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pandya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Māṟavanmarāna tiripuanacakkaravattikaḷ śōnāṭu koṇṭaruḷiya śrī Suntara Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu 5 vatu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu u-
2. ṭaiyār Tiruvāliśuram uṭaiyār kōyilil śivappirāmiṇan Āticcan śiṅkan āna Kotukula paṭṭanum en tampi Śeyapātamum ivan tampi Śi-
3. riyāṇṭān paṭṭanum imūvōmum ikkōyilil śikāriyam[2] śeyvārkum tēvakanmikaḷukkum śī māyēśura kaṇkāṇi[3] śeyvarkum upaiya nāṭṭukku
4. ṭutta pariśāvatu kāttikai māsattu rōśiṇi[4] nāḷ nāyakarum nācciyārum puṟappṭṭaruḷa amutu śeytaruḷi eḻuntaruḷukaikku Malai maṇṭalattu
5. Śeṅkoṭi Kāliśūriyanāna Vīraśūriya pallavaraiyan iṭṭa accu 1 ivvaccu oṉrukkum ivvāṭṭai Ppaṅkuni māsam kaikkoṇṭu upaiya
6. ppaliśai pū oṉrukku nellu iru kalanē tūṇi patakkāka āṇṭu oṉrukku nellu aiṅkalamāka śentirātittavar śelvitāka kal veṭṭi kku-
7. ṭuttōm imūvōmum ivai Kotukula paṭṭan eḻuttu Śeyapātam eḻuttu. śiriyāṇṭān paṭṭan eḻuttu[5]

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the regnal year) 5 of King Māṟavarman tribhuvanaccakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya, who took Cōḷa nāḍu (this is) the agreement deed given by

2-7) Ādityan śiṅgan or Kodukula bhaṭṭan, a śivabrāhmaṇa and his brothers Jayapādam and Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan, all three of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷu nāḍu to the Śrī kāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṇkāṇi officials of the temple against the one *accu* donated by śeṅkoṭi kālisūrya pallavaraiyan or Vīrasūryan of Malai maṇḍalam for

1. In grantha.
2. To be read as *Śrī kāryam.*
3. To be read as Śrī māhēśara kaṇkāṇi.
4. To be read as rōhi*ṇi*.
5. *Piḷḷaiyar śuḷi.*

the provision of food offerings and the conduct of processional festivities of the God and Goddess on the day of the rōhiṇi *nakṣatra* in the month of Kārttikai. The money was taken by them in the month of Paṅguni. The half yearly interest being 2 *kalam* 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *patakku* of paddy and the annual interest 5 *kalam*. This was engraved on stone by the three. These are the signatures of Kotukula bhaṭṭan, Jayapādam and Śiriyāṇṭān bhaṭṭan.

No.32: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 5 (sixth year, A.D.1221).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti śrī[1] Tiruvāykkēḷvikku mēl śī[2] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tri[1]puvana cakkaravattikaḷ śōnāṭu vaḷaṅki aruḷiya Śī Suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu añcāvatin etirāmā
2. ṇṭu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīsaram uṭaiyār kōyilil śivappirāmiṇan Śī Vāsutēvan Āticcanāna Tiyākavinōta ppiramātirāyanēn innāyanār Kkuṉṟameṟi-
3. nta piḷḷaiyārāna tēśināyaka piḷḷayārai eḷuntaruḷiviccu tēvaṟkku amutupaṭiyum śāttu paṭiyum kaṭṭi vittu ittēśināyaka piḷḷaiyāṟkku Nicciccakaṇṭa
4. n tiru maṇṭapam en sottile aḻiñtcu tēvakanmikku śeytēn Tiyākavinōta ppiramātirāyanēn[3] 2[4]

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order of His Majesty king Māṟavarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, who presented the Cōḷa nāḍu (issued in) the year opposite the year 5 (6),
2) I, Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan or Ādityan Vāsudēvan, a śivabrāhmaṇa of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu
3) provided for the processional festivities and food offerings of the deity, who destroyed the city of Kuṉṟam (Subrahmaṇya) Dēśināyaka piḷḷaiyār and also
4) constructed a hall called Niccittakaṇṭhan *maṇḍapa*, from my inheritance.

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as Śrī.
3. To be read as Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyanēn.
4. Full stop indicated by *piḷḷaivār śuḷi*.

No.33: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 5 sixth year).

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Tiruvāykkēḷvikku mēl śrī[1] Kō Māṟapanmarana tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ śōnāṭu valaṅki yaruḷiya Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍiya tērku[2] yāṇṭu 5 vatin etirāmāṇṭu paṅkuni māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār
2. Tiruvālīśuram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilir Hōḷaka maṭhattil jīyar sandhānattu[3] kumpiṭṭirukkum tapasiyaril śōḷan śīyan āṉa Akōra tēvar innāyanāṟkku amāvāśi tōṟum tirumaṭaiviḷākattai
3. ccuṟṟāka eḷuntaruḷi iru tūṇi yariśi aṉṟamutu śeyt-aruḷuvatākavum tiru viḷakk-eṇṇaikkum pala viñcanaṅkaḷukkum śantirātittavarai śelvatāka ccī[4] paṇṭārattil iṭṭa accu eṭṭu
4. ivvacc-eṭṭuṅkaikkoṇṭu accu oṉṟukku upaiyam pūvoṉṟukku iru kalanētūṇi patakkāka vanta nellu irupatin'kalamuṅ koṇṭu aṉṟātu śīkāriyañceyvān
5. tēvakanmikaḷ taṇṭi cceluttuvārkaḷ āka ccamatittu kkalveṭṭi kkuṭuttōm śīkariyanceyvārkaḷum tēvarkanmikaḷōmum ippaṭi yaṟivēn śīkāriyam Ti-
6. yākavinōta ppiramāttirāyan eḷuttu ippati yaṟivēn śīkāriyam Nālāyira paṭṭan[5] eḷuttu ippaṭi yaṟivēn tēvarkannmi[6] kotukula paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭi yaṟi-
7. vēn tēvarkannmi[6] Alakiyan eluttu[7] inta ūrpaṭikku acciṭṭa inta Akōra tēvar innāyanār tirunāḷ śittirai ccataiyattir ttīttatinaṉṟu .. ..[8] aru nattattile eḷun-
8. taruḷi nāḷaṉṟu māhēśurar-amutu śeya iṭṭa accu 2 ivvacc-iraṇṭuk-

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as tēvarku.
3. To be read as santānattu.
4. To be read as Śrī.
5. To be read as bhaṭṭan wherever paṭṭan occurs.
6. To be read as tēvarkanmi.
7. *Piḷḷaiyār śuḷi.*
8. Damaged.

kum pūvān tōṛum[5] acconṟukku nellu iru kalanē tūṇi patakkāka acciranṭukkụ nellu aiṅkalamāka āṇṭonṟukku nellu patin kala-

9. mum kkoṇṭu itukkuttār ariśiyuṅ kaṟiyum veñcanaṅkaḷuṅ koṇṭu śantirātittavar kai accāṇṭālulla upaiyan koṇṭu śeluttuvōm ānōm= ikkōyir tiruttoṇdar eḻutt-

10. u[2]

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order (of) His Majesty King Māṟavarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya dēva, who was pleased to bestow the Cōla nāḍu (issued in) the year opposite the year 5 (sixth year), *paṅguni* (phāluguṇa),

2-3) Śōḷan śīyan Aghōra dēvan of the lineage of the *jīyar* of the Hōḷaki (Gōḷaki) *matha*, who was a devotee in the temple of Tiruvāliīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu made an endowment of 8 *accu* into the temple treasury for the processional festivities of this deity of Muḷḷi nāḍu around the temple precincts on every *amāvāsya* and also for food offering on that day with 2 *tūṇi* of rice and for the oil required for lamps and such other items as long as the sun and moon last.

4) Having taken over these 8 *accu* and the half yearly income per accu 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *patakku* of paddy, in all 20 *kalam*, the then Śrīkāryam and dēvarkanmi officers

5) were to maintain these services. (after) their agreeing to this, (this) was engraved on stone. Thus I know Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirā-

6) yan, the Śrīkāryam officer. This is my signature. Thus I know. The signature of Nālāyira bhaṭṭan, the Śrīkāryam officer. Thus I know. The signature of Kodukula bhaṭṭan, the dēvarkanmi. Thus I know.

7) This is the signature of Aḷakiyan, the dēvarkanmi. Aghōra dēva, who made this endowment of money for this *ūrpaṭi* (function)

8) also gifted two *accu* for providing food to the mahēśvaras on the occasion of the processional festival of this deity on the day of Śadiyam (Śatabhiṣag) *nakṣatra* in the month of Caitra, from the half yearly income in paddy 2 *kalam* 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *patakku* per accu, 5 *kalam* for two *accu* and the annual income 10 *kalam* of paddy.

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5. Note the use of Malayalam here.

9) Having taken these and the necessary rice, spices and other items the service shall be maintained as long as the sun and moon last out of the income from the money endowed, by those in those in the service of the temple.

10) This is the signature of the tiruttoṇḍar of this temple.ple.

No.34: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 7 (8th year, A.D.1223).

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tiripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ śōnāṭu vaḷaṅki aruḷiya Su-
2. ntara Pāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu eḻāvatin-etirām-āṇṭu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīccura-
3. m uṭaiyār kōyilil kuṉṟam eṟinta piḷḷayār āṉa tēśināyaka piḷḷaiyāṟku Irāśarāśa erivīra paṭ-
4. ṭaṉattu nicciccakaṇṭa peruṅteruvil Tiruvīraṭṭāṉam uṭaiyān Tiru-vāṇṭāṉ āṉa Tiruvampalam
5. uṭaiyān iravu śantikku śantiyā tīpattukku ivvāṭṭē āṭi māsam iṭṭa accu oṉṟu ivvaccu o-
6. ṉṟum ikkōyilil eṭṭupaṅkil śivappirāmaṇaruṅ kaikkoṇṭu śantirā-ticca pakal śelu
7. ttuvvōmānamaikku eṅkaḷ pakkal ikkōyilil maka oṭai śantanam perrārum vilai yoṟṟi tan-
8. matanam peṟṟārum ippaṭi celuttuvatākavum ippaṭi kal veṭṭi kuṭuttōm eṭṭu-
9. paṅkil śivappirāmaṇarōm ippaṭikku ivai Tiyakavinōta ppi-ramātirāyan eḻuttu ip-
10. paṭikku ivai Nālāyira paṭṭan[2] eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai Kotukula paṭṭan eḻuttu ippaṭi i-
11. vai Tiruñānasampanta paṭṭan eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai Sūriyatēva nampiyān eḻuttu ippaṭikku ivai[3]

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as bhaṭṭan.
3. 'ai' with two 'o' mātras.

12. śaivāśi[4] Maṇi paṭṭan ẹluttu ippaṭikku ivai Kulaśēkara paṭṭan ẹluttu ippaṭikku ivai iṭai-
13. nīkki Tukkai yālvān[5] ẹluttu ippaṭikku ivai iṭai nīkki Tiruvikkiraman ẹluttu
14. ivarkal aruḷicceẏa iṟai nīkkinān uṭaiyān ẹluttu

Translation

1-5) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) year opposite the year 7 of King Māṟavarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, who bestowed the Cōḷa nāḍu, a gift of one *accu* be Tiruvīrasthānam uḍaiyan of Tiruvāṇḍān Tiruvambalam uḍaiyān residing in the street called Niccitta kaṇṭhan, in Rājarāja enwira-paṭṭaṇaṁ for burning a twilight lamp during the evening service in the (shrine) of Kunṟam erinta piḷḷaiyār Dēśināyaka piḷḷaiyār (Subrahmaṇya) in the temple of Tiruālīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu, in the month of Āḍi.

6) This one *accu* after having been taken by the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas, (was to be) maintained by them as long as the sun and the moon last.

7) The services shall be conducted by those belonging to the *maka eṭai*

8) *santānam* (lineage) and those enjoying the *dharma dāna* of the

9) temple. Thus war engraved on stone and (effected) by the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas. Thus this is the signature of Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan.

10) (The following were the other signatories): Nālāyira bhaṭṭan;

11) Kotukula bhaṭṭan; Tirujnānasambandha bhaṭṭan; Sūryadēva nambi;

12) Maṇi bhaṭṭa; the śaivācārya; Kulaśēkhara bhaṭṭa;

13) Durgai āḷvān, the *iḍai-nīkki* (the remover of delays); Trivikrama;

14) All these having consented to this, this is the signature of Iṟainīkkinan uṭaiyān.

4. To be read as śaivācāryan.
5. To be read as Durgai āḷvān.

No.35: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 8 (A.D. 1223).

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil

Remarks: The inscription cites the *praśasti* of the king beginning with the words 'Pūmaruviya tirumaṭantayum' (same as No.30) The remaining portion of the text is the same as that of No.36.

No.36: Inscription of Kōṉērimelkoṇḍān, year 8 and day 271.

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śri Tribhu[1]vanaccakravattikaḷ Kōṉērimēlkoṇṭān Muḷḷi nāṭṭu Ttiruvālīśuram uṭaiyār kōyilil śrīkāryan ceyvānukku tēvarkanmikkum Śrī māyēśura[2] kaṇkāṇi śeyvānu-
2. kku ittēvaṟku puraṭṭāti mātattu nām piṟanta aviṭṭattu nāḷile tīttam pirasātipputāka Oruvāruṇartān āṉa Tamiḻappallavaraiyan eḻuntaruḷa kkaṇṭa tirunāḷukku amutupaṭi yuḷḷiṭ-
3. ṭu vēṇṭuvanavum innāṭṭu Irājarāja ccaturvētimaṅkalattu kāṟ paśānam viḷaiyun nilattu ivvūr kkaṭamai iṟukkum kōlāl onpatu mākkāṇi muntirikai kkīḻ mukkālē nilam eṭṭāvatu pa-
4. śānam mutal antarāyam uṭpaṭa ttēvatāna iṟaiyiliyāl iruppatāka iṭa ppeṟa vēṇum [illegible] Maḷavarāyan namakku cconnamaiyil ittēvaṟku tirunāḷukku amutupaṭi uḷḷiṭṭu vē-
5. ṇṭuvanavukku ivvūr kār paśānam viḷaiyum nilattuk kaṭamai yilukkuṅ[3] kōlāl onpatu mākkāṇi muntirikai kkīḻ mukkāl aṭṭa ivvāṇṭu paśānam mutal antarāyam uṭpaṭa ttēvatāna
6. iṟaiyiliyāy iruppatāka iṭṭu variyilār eluṭiṭṭa ūr vvari kēḷviyum tara cconnōm kaikkoṇṭu tirunāṭpaṭi uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇṭun nimantaṅkal śella ppaṇṇi ippaṭi śantir-

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as śrī Māhēśvara.
3. To be read as kaṭamai irukkun

7. ātittavar śelvatāka kkallilun cempilum veṭṭivittu kkoḷka ivai[4] Śevvirukkai nāṭṭu Accutavayal araiyan Āticcatēvanāna Iyātavarāyan eḻuttu yāṇṭu

8. eṭṭvatu nāḷ 271 nāl ivai[5] Karuṅku nāṭṭu kkiḻanēkitti Viśaiyālaiyanallūr nakkan iraṭṭaiy āna Suntara Pāṇṭiya kaḷappāḷarāyan eḻuttu ivai Pallavarāyan eḻuttu[6]

Translation.

1-5) Hail! Prosperity! (The order of) Tribhuvanaccakravarti Kōnērimēlkoṇḍān to the Śrikāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śīmāhēśvara *kaṇkāṇi* (officers) of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu, 3/4 of the *kīl* of 9 *mā* 1 *kāṇi* and 1 *muntirikai* of double crop (raised in Kār and Paśān) in Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam measured by the *kaṭamai irukkum kōl*, including all capital incomes was made tax-free at the request of Maḻavarāyan for providing food offering to this deity and for *tīrtha* and *prasāda* on the day of our birthday, Aviṭṭam (Dhaniṣṭhā) in the month of Puraṭṭādi *(pūrvāṣāḍha)* and for the processional festivals (conducted by) Oruvāruṇardān Tamiḻappallavaraiyan.

6) This was entered into the registers of the *variyilār* (tax official) We also ordered the document pertaining to the *ūr vari* to be issued. This was also be be engraved on stone and copper after

7) ensuring the conduct of these festivals, according to the orders as long as the sun and moon last. This is the signature of Āditya dēvan Yādarāyan of Accutavayal in Śevirukkai nāḍu. Year

8) 8 and day 271. This is the signature of Kiḻanēkīrti Iraṭṭaiyan of viśaiyanallūr otherwise known as Sundara Pāṇḍya Kaḷappāḷarāyan of Karuṅku nāḍu. This is the signature of Pallavaraiyan.

No.37: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved. It seems to refer to a gift of money for provision of food to the mahēśvaras.

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4. 'ai' with two curved prongs.
5. Different form of 'ai'.
6. *Piḷḷaiyar śuḷi.*

No.38: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. .. ..[1] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattikan[2] Śōnāṭu vaḷaṅki aruḷiya Śrī[3] Suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvaṟku yāṇṭu .. .. ..[4]
2. uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiyār kōyilukku kāttikai tirunāḷ nāyanārum nācciyārum puṟapaṭṭaruḷi amutu .. .. ..[4]
3. erivīra paṭṭaṇattu niccittakaṇṭa pperun teruvil irukkum Paṭṭaṇa uṭaiyān Akattīśuram uṭaiyān nāyanār .. .. ..[4]
4. accu oṉṟukku nellu iru kalanē tūṇi patakkāka āṇṭu oṉṟukku nellu aiṅkalamum iṭṭa .. .. ..[4]
5. maṇan śēvaka ttēvan Āticcanāna Tiyākavinōta ppiramātirāyan kaikkoṇṭu innellu aiṅkalamum śelu .. .. ..[4]
6. capakal[5] śeluttuvēn ākavum en paṅku vilaiy oṟṟi tanmatānam sītana[6]

Translation

1-3 King Māṟavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya, who was pleased to bestow the Cōḷa nāḍu (in his) year .. .. as gift by Paṭṭaṇa uḍaiyān Agastīśvarm uḍaiyān, residing in the high street called Niccittakaṇṭhan in Rājarāja erivīra-pattanam for the processional festivities of the deity and Goddess of the temple of Tiruvālīśvarm and for the food offering on the day of the festival in the month of Kārttika.

4-5 The half yearly income per accu in paddy 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *patakku*, 5 *kalam* per year .... Sēvaka dēvan Ādityan Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan agreed to render 5 *kalam* of paddy and to maintain this as long as the sun and the moon last, even if necessary by selling his share of .. .. ..

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1. The first seven *akṣaras* are missing in the estampage. The reading, however, should be Svasti Śrī.
2. To be read as tribhuvanacakravartikaḷ.
3. In grantha.
4. There is another portion missing here.
5. can be reconstructed as santiratitta pakal.
6. stops abruptly.

No.39: Inscriptionof Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 3.

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Srī[1] Kō Ccaṭaiyapanmarāna tribhu[1]vanaccakkaravattikaḷ Śrī[1] Vīra Pāṇṭiya dēvarku yāṇṭu mūṉṟāvatu āvaṇi māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭai[2]yār Tiruvālī-
2. śvaram uṭaiy[3]a nāyanār kōyil eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhmaṇarōm innāṭṭu Rājarāja caturvvēdimaṅkalattu onpatāñceri Tulakkil-imaṅkalattu ppāṇṭava tūtan
3. Śrī Harṣa bha[1]ṭṭarku pram[1]āṇam paṇṇi kuṭutta pariśāvatu innāyanāṟku Iṟuk vēdādhyayanam[1] ivaruṭaiya pūrva puruṣarkaḷ munpē adhyenam paṇṇi nāḷ oṉṟukku aṟu nāḷi
4. nellu kkaikkōṟṟu kkoṇṭu pōntamaiyil immāsam mutal itarku nāṅkaḷ Vēda adhyaya[1]nattukku iṭṭa nilam āvatu innāyanār dēvatānam Śivaś[1]araṇa-
5. śēkaranallūr Śrī Vāsudēva vāykkālukku kiḻakku tiruvaraṅkavati-kku mēṟku ancānceriyil kīḻ kkaṭaiy nilam mā kāṇi mutirikai[4] innilam mā Kāṇi muntirikaiyum immātam muta-
6. l kkaikkoṇṭu iṟaiyili āka anubh[1]avippār ākavum tām vēṇṭina kuṭi kkuṭuttu ppayir śeytum śeyvittum koḷavār ākavum mēl vāram kīḻ vāra m o-
7. ṉṟum kkoḷḷa ppeṟṟu kkaṭamai iṟuppār akavum ippaṭi śantirātit-tavar iṟaiyili āka ituve pra[1]māṇam āka koṇṭu kallilun cempilum veṭṭi k-
8. kuṭuttōm eṭṭupaṅkir śivabrāhmaṇan Kulaśēkara bhaṭṭarku ivai Nālāyira bhaṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Tirukkaivī aḻakiya bhaṭṭan[1] eḻuttu ivai Tiruttoṇṭa-
9. bhaṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Nilaiparaviya bhaṭṭan eḻuttu ivai ikkoyilil Śeyyamātu uṭaiyān eḻuttu ivai Aṭiśayabhāva paṭṭan[5] eḻuttu ivai Kūttan Śrīkō-

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1. In grantha.
2. 'ai' with two prongs.
3. Different form of 'ai'.
4. Expressed by symbols.
5. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

10. yil uṭaiyān āna Nārpatteṇṇāyira paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai ikkōyilil Śaivāsāriyan Śēvakattēvar Śiriyāṇṭān āna Sīvallabha bha[1]ṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Śrīlaram uṭai-

11. .. .. na mutali eḻuttu ivai Āticca paṭṭan Nānāparaṇa paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Āṇṭa piḷḷai eḻuttu ivai Kaliyāṇasuntara

12) paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Śiriyakṇṭa Nālāyira paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Gaṅgādhara paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai mutali eḻuttu ivai

13. kkavarāya paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Āticcan Kaliyan āṇa Kotukula paṭṭan eḻuttu kalveṭṭinēn ikōyil sīkāriya koṟṟan Ponma-

14. laiyān Tiruttoṇṭāśāriyan eḻuttu[3]

Translation

1-3 Hail! Prosperity! King Jaṭāvarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Vīra Pāṇḍya (in his) year 3, in the month of Āvaṇi (Śrāvaṇa), (this is the) deed of authority made in favour of Pāṇḍava dūtan Śrī Harṣa bhaṭṭan (residing at) Tulakkilimaṅgalam the ninth quarter of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam by the *eṭṭupankil* Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu regarding the (right to) recite the Ṛg vēda in front of this deity. When formerly his proccessors had recieved 6 *nāḻi* of

4-6 paddy willingly, these are the lands set apart by us from this month for this vēda recitation: the *dēvadāna* land of this deity lying to the east of the irrigation channel Śrivāsudeva vāykkāl in Śivacaraṇaśēkharanallūr and to the west of the fortress in the eastern quarter of the fifth division, land to the extent of 1 *mā* 1 *kāṇi* and 1 *muntirikai*. From this month (Śrī Harṣa bhaṭṭa) having taken over this land along the rights of tenancy and cultivation of crops and the *mēlvāram* amd *kīlvāram* incomes, as tax-free shall perform (these duties).

7-8 By this (it) is made tax-free as long as the sun and moon last. By treating this very order as *pramāṇa*, We the *eṭṭupaṅkil* Śivabrāhmaṇas give this (order) after engraving it on stone and copper to Kulaśēkhara bhaṭṭa, a śivabrāhmaṇa (for being effected). This is the signature of Nālāyira bhaṭṭan. (The other signatories were) Tirukkaivēl alakiya bhaṭṭan; Tiruttoṇḍa bhaṭṭan

9-14 Nilaiparaviya bhaṭṭan; śeyyamātu uṭaiyān; Atiśayabhāva bhaṭṭan Kuttan Śrīkōyil uṭaiyān or Nārpatteṇṇāyira bhaṭṭan; Śēvakattēvar Śiriyāṇḍān

3. *Piḷḷaiyār śuḻi*

or Śrī Vallabha bhaṭṭan; Śīlāram uṭaiyan; Āditya bhaṭṭan Mānābharaṇa bhaṭṭan; Aṇḍa piḷḷai; Kalyāṇasundara bhaṭṭan; Nālāyira bhaṭṭan; Gaṅgādhara bhaṭṭan; Mudali; Kavarāya bhaṭṭan; Ādityan Kaliyan or Kotukula bhaṭṭan: This was engraved on stone by Śrīkārya koṟṟan Ponmalaiyān Tiruttoṇḍācāryan of this temple.

No.40: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman vīra Pāṇḍya, year 3.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Ccaṭa[2]iyapanmarāna tiripuvanaccakravattikaḷ Śrī Vīra Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu 3 vatu āvaṇi mātam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭai[3]yār Tiruvālī-
2. Śvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhm[1]aṇarōm Śrīman Hōlahi[1] maṭattu jñānāmṛtāśāriyār ccantānattu tavasi Pukaḷi pperumāḷukku ppi-
3. ṭipāṭu paṇṇi kkuṭutta pariśāvatu ivar innāyanār kōyilir tirukkaiyoṭṭiyil Tirujnānam ōtivarum iṭattu ivan onrukku patakkāka va-
4. nta kōṟṟukku viruttiyiṭṭa nilamāvatu innāyanār tēvatānam Śivaśaraṇaśēkaranallūr sī[4]vāsudēva vāykkalukku tteṟku omunāṟu tiruvaraṅkavatikku kkiḻa-
5. kku mūṉṟāñcēyil kkiḻ kkaṭaiya nilam arai mā[5] innilam arai māvum immātam mutal kaikkoṇṭu tām uḷutum kuṭikuṭuttu anupavipatāka anupavikkum iṭattu i-
6. nnilattāl vanta kaṭamai antarāyamum mūṅkil vari śampaṭa variyum mēlvārattil varum pon variyum uḷutān kaṇṭōn variyum naṭattu varikaḷum maṟṟum eppēr
7. paṭṭanavum iṟuppārākavum ivar apāpattilum ivar śantāniyattārē Tirujñānam ōti innilam appaṭiye iṟaiyili āka kkaikoṇṭu śantityavarai[6] anupavippā-

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1. In grantha.
2. 'ai' engraved as a single letter.
3. Different form of 'ai' with two 'e' signs.
4. To be read as Śrī.
5. Expressed by symbols.
6. To be read as śantirātittavar.

8. r ākavum ippaṭi kallilun cempilum veṭṭivittu koḷvatākavum ippaṭi-sammatittu piṭipāṭu paṇṇi kkuṭuttōm Pukaḷi perumāḷukku eṭṭu-paṅkir Śivappirāmiṇarum Śrī
9. ivvanaivōrum ivai Nālāyira paṭṭan[7] eḷuttu ivai Tirukkaivēl aḷakiya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Tiruttoṇḍa nampi eḷuttu ivai Āpatsahāya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Nī-
10. tiyuṭaiyan Pāṇṭiya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai śeyyapātam perumāḷ eḷuttu ivai kūttan Śrī Kayilāyam uṭaiyān āna Nārpatteṇṇāyira paṭṭan eḷuttu i-
11. kōyilil śivāśāriyan śēvakattēvan śiriyāṇṭān āna śīvallava paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śīlaram uṭaiyān mutali eḷuttu

Translation

1-6 Hail! Prosperity! King Jaṭāvarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Vīra Pāṇḍya (in his) year 3 and in the month of Āvaṇi, the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrahmanas of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷi nāḍu gave (this) deed of support to the monk Pukali perumāḷ belonging to the lineage of Jñānmrtācārya of the Hōlaki *maṭha* (Gōḷaki maṭha) to the effect that he should recite the *Tirujñānam* in the prayer hall of the temple and for this $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land from the *dēvadāna* of this deity called Śivacaraṇaśēkhara-nallur lying to the south of the irrigation channel Śrī Vāsudēva-vāykkāl and to the east of the third sluice near the fortress, (was gifted to him)., from this month. The cultivation and tenancy rights along with the incomes such as *kaṭamai, antarāyam* bamboo tax, tax on fisheries, *pon vari* from the *mēlvāram*, supervisory taxes on cultivation and other existing incomes may be enjoyed by him.

7-8 Even if he dies his descendants shall recite the *Tirujñānam* after taking over the land as tax-free as long as the sun and moon last and enjoy them. Thus it may be engraved on stone and copper. Having agreed thus, we the Śivabrāhmaṇas prepared the letter of authority and issued it to Pukaḷi perumāḷ.

9-11 The signatories : Nālāyira bhaṭṭan; Tirukkaivēl aḷakiya bhaṭṭan; Tiruttoṇḍa nambi; Āpatsahāya bhaṭṭan; Nītiudaiya Pāṇḍya bhaṭṭan; Jayapādam perumal; Śrī Kailāsam uḍaiyan Nārpetteṇṇāyira bhaṭṭan; Sēvaka dēvan Śiriyāṇḍān Śrī Vallabha bhaṭṭan, the śaivācārya of the temple; and śīlāram uḍaiyān.

7. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

No.41: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 3.

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Ccaṭaiyavanmarāna tiripuvanncakkaravattikaḷ śrī Vīra Pāṇṭiya dēv[1]arku yāṇṭu 3[2]vattu puraṭṭāti mātam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālī-
2. śvaram uṭaiya nāyinār kōyil eṭṭupaṅkil śivappirāmiṇarām Pāṇṭiyata-raiyan tiru nantāvanan ceykira śrīman Kōḷaki maṭattu jñā-
3. nāmrtācāriyar santānattu Akōra tēvarkku piṭipaṭu paṇṇi kkuṭutta pariśāvatu innāyanārkku ivar śeykira Pāṇṭiyataraiyan tiru nan-
4. tāvanam tirupaḷḷi taram ākki ppaṟittu palakai ttalaiyile toṭuttu iṭukkaikku iṭṭa viruttiyāvatu innāyanār tēvatānam Śivaśara-
5. ṇaśēkara nallūril Śrī Vāsudēva vāykkīukku teṟkkum mūṉṟān kaṇṇāṟṟu tiruvaraṅkavatikku kiḻakku· puncai nilam[3] kāṇi arai[4] innilaṅ kā
6. ṇi arai kkāṇiyum iṟaiyiliyāka ivvāṇṭu kāṟ mutual kaikkoṇṭu tinam vēṇṭum .. .. .. ttum śeytivittu
7. koḷvār ākavum innilattil mēlvārattil oṉṟum koḷḷātiruppōm ākavum innilam iṟaiyiliyāka śantirāti-
8. ttapakal anupavippār ākavum ippaṭi śeyyum iṭattu ituvē piṭipāṭāka koṇṭu kalliluñ cempilun
9. veṭṭi kkoḷvār ākavum ippaṭi samatittu virutti piṭipāṭu paṇṇi kuṭuttōm eṭṭupaṅkil
10. śivappirāmaṇarōm Akōra tēvarkku ivai Nālāyira paṭṭan[5] eḻuttu ivai Tirukkaivōḷ aḻakiya paṭ-
11. ṭan eḻuttu ivai Tiruttoṇḍa nampi eḻuttu ivai Tēva piḷḷai eḻuttu ivai Śrī Kailāsam uṭai-

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1. In grantha.
1. In grantha.
2. Expressed by a numeral.
3. Expressed by symbol.
4. Expressed by a symbol.
5. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

12. yān śrī Nārpattennāyira pattan eluttu ippaḍi arivēn ikkōyilil saivāśāriyan Āpatsahāya bhattan elu-

13. ttu ivai Nilaiyutaiya Pāṇ ṭiyapattan eluttu ivai Śeyypātan perumāḷ eluttu

Translation

1-5 Hail! Prosperity! King Jaṭaāvarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Vīra Pāṇḍya (in the regnal) year 3 and month Puraṭṭādi the *ettupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷi nāḍu (gave) this letter of authority to Aghōra dēva of the Jñānāmrtācārya lineage of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* who was in charge of the flower garden named Pāṇḍyadaraiyan. One and a half *kāṇi* of land from the *dēvadāna* of this deity known as Śivacaraṇaśēkharanallur, lying to the south of the irrigation channel Śrī Vāsudēvan vāykkāl and to the west of the third sluice near the fortress as a remuneration for converting the garden as *tirupaḷḷitaram* and for including the same in the registers under the same classification, (was given) to him.

6) After taking over this wet land of $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṇi* (he) shall maintain the daily requirements from the kar season this year.

7) Nothing shall be taken from the *mēlvāran* income of this land by us and this land shall be enjoyed as long as the moon and sun last.

8) While this is being done, this (order) shall be deemed to be the supporting document and it shall be engraved on stone and copper.

9) Having agreed thus, we the śivabrāhmaṇan (of the *eṭṭunpaṅkil* group issued this deed of support for the *vriddhi*

10) to Aghōra dēva. This is the signature of Nālāyira bhaṭṭan;

11) Tiruttoṇḍa nambi; Dēva piḷḷai; Śrī Kailāsam uḍaiyān Nārpatteṇṇāyira

12) bhaṭṭan; Thus I know Āpatashāya bhaṭṭan, the śaivācārya of the temple.

13) Nilai uḍaiya Pāṇḍya bhaṭṭan; and Jayapādam perumāḷ.

No.42: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 2.

Script: Tamil and *Grantha*.

Language: Tamil

1. .. ..[1] cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī[2] Suntara Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu iraṇṭāvatu munpu periya nāyanār Kulaśēkkaradēvar kālattil Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭai-
2. .. .. śivarāttiri pūśaikku ikkōyilil tēvaraṭiyāḷ Ambattāḷ makaḷ śempon Tiyākiyāna Vīrapattira naṅkai iṭṭa accu aincey it-
3. ta accu araiyum[3] āka accu ancey mukkāiē mūṉṟu mā mukkāṇiyum śamaiyattil Tinaviti piḷḷai iṭṭa accu oṉṟum nicciccakaṇṭa perun teruvile
4. .. .. oṉṟu nāṭṭu kkalakattāl pūśai muṭṭi paliśaiyāl vanta accu nālē mā kāṇiyum āka accu panniraṇṭukkum accu oṉṟukku upaiyam ā-
5. .. .. ācantrātittapakal śelvitāka kalveṭṭina iṭaiyavāṇṭu Koṟṟalaṅkuṭaiyān tavasi Picca-
6. .. .. .. vumiṭattu ivvaccu panniraṇṭāl vanta upaiya nellu aṟupatin kalamum aṉṟāṭu śīkāriyan ceyvān tēvarka-
7. .. .. .. pūśai śeluttuvōrāka sammatittu kalveṭṭi kuṭuttōm ippaṭi aṟivēn śīkāriyan Tiyākavinōta ppira-
8. .. .. .. Śrīkāryan Nālāyira paṭṭan[4] eḻuttu ippaṭi aṟivēn tēvakanmi Kotukula paṭṭaṅ eḻuttu ippaṭiyari-
9. .. .. .. ḷuttu

Translation

1) .. .. .. His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya (in his) year 2; formerly in the time of the elder relative Kulaśēkhara, Sempon Tyāgi
2) Vīrabhadra naṅgai, daughter of Ambattāḷ, a *dēvaraṭiyār* of the temple of Tiruvālīśvarm in Muḷḷi nāḍu (had) made an endowment of 5 *accu* for conducting the worship during the *Śivarātri* festival
3) .. .. .. in all 5 *accu* (and) $3\frac{1}{4}$ *mā* and 3 *kāṇi* (of land). Tinaviti piḷḷai made a gift on this occasion of one *accu*.
4) .. .. .. the worship was interrupted due to a *nāttu kalaham* the income by way of interest (from) 1 *mā* and 1 *kāṇi* (of land) being 4 *accu*, the total income being 12 *accu*

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1. The beginning is lost.
2. In grantha.
3. Engraved above the line. Probably a later inscription.
4. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

5) .. .. .. was to be maintained by Tavasi Piccan or Korralaṅguḍaiyān during the interim period when the inscription was engraved

6) .. .. .. the current Śrīkāryan and dēvarkanmi officers of the temple shall enjoy the income of 60 *kalam* of paddy from the 12 *accu* and they shall conduct the worship in the temple.

7) After their agreement, this was engraved on stone. I know thus Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan, the Śrīkāryam officer.

8) .. .. .. This is the signature of śrīkāryam (officer) Nālāyira bhattan. Thus I know, Kotukula bhattan, the dēvarkanmi officer. This is my signature.

9) .. ..

No.43: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year opposite the year 4 (year 6).

Details of Date: Āvaṇi, 2, Thursday, and Uttara Bhādrapada. The only two occasions between A.D.1184 and A.D. 1384 when Uttara Bhādrapada coincided with Thursday, the second day of Āvaṇi were i) A.D.1276, Thursday, July 30. Uttara Bhārapada began at .08 and ended the next day at .19. This was the 2nd day of Āvaṇi by the Sūrya siddhānta and 3rd day by the Ārya siddhānta. ii) A.D.1371, Thursday, 31 July when Uttara Bhādrapada began at .01 ending at .00 the next day. This was the second day of Āvaṇi by both Ārya and Sūrya siddhāntas. According as either of these equivalents is correct the commencement of the reign of the king would have to be placed either in A.D.1271-72 or in A.D.1366-67. The palaeography of the record would support the first conclusion.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Lannguage: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Tiruvāykkēḷvikku mēl Śrī[1] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tribhu[1]vanaccakravattikaḷ Śrī Sundara Pāṇṭiya tēvarkku yāṇṭu 4[2] vatin etirām āṇṭin etirām ā-
2. ṇṭu āvaṇi māsattu 2[3] ṇṭān tiyatiyum viyālakkilamaiyum perra uttiraṭṭi nāḷ Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyan-

1. In grantha.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Expressed by a symbol.

3. nāṛkku Mullai vēntan śeyta tanmam āvatu vēluṇṭān kākka vēṇṭa kāttavan sī pātam[4] iranṭum en talai mēlē yoṇṟu kalveṭṭi kkiṭak-
4. ka cceytē i ttanmam aḻivu paṭṭamaiyil ittanmam nōkka ittānattu mōkari[5] yeḷuttār illāmaiyāle
5. nāyanār patirpaṭi tiṭṭaiyum pala ēri yuṭaiya .. .. .. Tiruvālīśuram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyil tirukkāmapurattu vittu iranṭu tanamu-
6. n kuṭiyānmai paṇṇi vittu ittanman ceytōn Piccai maṭattil mu-taliyārāl Śrī pātattu piḷḷaikaḷil Tirumakiltiṭṭa piḷḷaiyāna Ś-
7. ōla kōn Orritēvan tan .. .. .. mutalikaḷukkum aruḷi śeya ikallu veṭṭinanen ikōyil taccāśāriya-
8. nampi Mātēvan āṇa Jayamukha āśāriyan eḷutu ikōyil taccāśāriyan Kōṛan Ponmalaiyāṇa Tiruttoṇḍāśāriyaṇ eḻuttu

Translation

1-3 Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order (of) King Māṛavarman Tribhu-vanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya (issued in the) year opposite the year opposite the year 4 (year 6), in the second day of Āvaṇi (Śrāvaṇa), Thursday and uttiraṭṭādi at the request for the protection and maintainence of the charity instituted by Mullai ventan for the deity in the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷi nāḍu, which had been discontinued owing

4-5 to the absence of revenue officials to supervise the gift and also because of the damage done to the land in the village belonging to the temple by floods and breaches in the irrigation tanks

6) I, Tirumakiltiṭṭa piḷḷai Śōḷakōn Oṟṟidēvan belonging to the lineage of teachers of the Bhikṣā *maṭha* attached to the temple (agreed to) maintain this charity by cultivating the land and raising two crops.

7) I, the chief carpenter of this temple Nambi Mahādēvan or Jayamukha ācāryan engraved this at the graceful bidding of the teachers of this *maṭha*.

8) This is the signature of Kōran Ponmalai or Tiruttoṇḍācāryan.

4. To be read as Śrī pādam.
5. To be read as mukha vari

No.44: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 8, *mārgaḷi*.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svatti[1] Śrī[2] Suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvaṟku yāṇṭu eṭṭa-
2. vatu mārkaḷi mātam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālī
3. Śuram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyir śīkāriyan tēvakanmikaḷu-
4. m Śrī māhēśvara[2] kkaṇkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukku ikkōyil śivabrā[2]-
5. hmaṇan Āticcan Śeṅkanāna Vīra paṇṭita paṭṭanēn tīr-
6. tta pariśāvatu Malai maṇṭalattu kkuṟumattūr Nārāyaṇan Aiyyappa
7. n innāyanāṟku nāyaṟṟu kkiḷamai tōṟum Tanporunta Āṟṟil
8. tirumañcanam eṭuttu vantu āṭi aruḷivippatāka immāsam iṭṭa accu
9. ivvaccu oṉṟum nān kaikkoṇṭu ivvaccukku māsam oṉṟuk-
10. ku nel kuṟuṇi 5[3] āka māsam āṟukku nel kuṟuṇi 30[4] āka ivvaccu oṉṟukku[5] nel ain kalam[6] nel ain-
11. kalamum pūvāśąṟutiyilē ittirumañca-
12. nam eṭuppāṟkku muṭṭāmar śantirātityav[2]a-
13. r eṭuppippēn ākavum ttirumañcanamum upaiyamu-
14. m muttil on pankilai yoṟṟi madhy[4]ānamum svi[4]ta-
15. nam koṇṭār uṇṭākilum yivupaiyam aḷa-
16. ntu iru ṭṭirumancana pū muṭṭāmaal eṭuppippēn ākavum
17. pōṭṭi śeyyum maṭattilum kallilum śempilum veṭ-
18. ti śandrādityavar muṭṭāmal śelutti kuṭuppēn āka samma-
19. tittu tīṭṭu kuṭuttēn Vīra Paṇṭita paṭṭanēn śi

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1. To be read as Svasti.
2. In grantha.
3. Expressed by symbols.
4. Expressed by symbols.
5. Expressed by symbols.
6. Expressed by symbols.

20. kāriyan tēvakanmi Śrī māhēśvara[1] kkaṇkāṇi śeyvā-
21. rkaḷukku ippaṭi ivai Vīra Paṇṭita paṭṭan eḻuttu
22. ivarkaḷ śolla i ṭiṭṭu eḻutinēn Miḻalai kkū-
23. ṟṟattu Vaykuntanallūr Śirukampūr uṭaiyān Karumāṇikka kō nam-
24. pi eḻu
25. ttu[2]

Translation

1-3 Hail! Prosperity! His Majesty Sundar Pāṇḍya (in the regnal) year 8 and in the month of Mārgaḷi (this is) the undertaking given by Āditya Śaṅkaran Vīra Paṇḍita bhaṭṭan, a Śivabrāhmaṇa of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷi nāḍu to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṇkaṇi officers (relating to) the gift of one *accu* by Nārāyaṇan Aiyappan of Kuṟumattūr in Malai maṇḍalam to be utilised for bringing water every sunday from the river Tanperundam (Tāmraparṇī) for the bathing of the deity.

9) Having received this and the income by way of interest for this *accu* the five *kalam* of paddy per annum (shall) be given

10) to the person bringing the *tirumañjanam* water without fail as

11) long as the sun and moon last, I undertake to maintain this sevice.

12-16 If there is any deficiency in the gift amount itself, I shall set apart a share of my income, even for the services of *madhyāna* (midday) and shall maintain this charity and the service of *tirumañjana* without fail.

17-19 After (narranging to have this) engraved in the *maṭha* where discussions were held and on stone and on copper, I, Vīra Paṇḍita bhaṭṭan gave this undertaking to the śrīkāryam,

20-25 dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhāśvara kaṇkāṇi officers. This is the signature of Vira Padita bhattan. I, Śirukampūr uṭaiyān Karumāṇikka nambi of Vaikuṇṭhanallūr is Miḷai kkūrram wrote this document at the dictation of these.

1. In gratha.
2. *piḷḷaiyār śuḷi.*

No.45: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year opposite the year 8 (year 10).

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tribhuvanaccakra[1]vattikal Śrī Sun[1]tara Pāṇṭiya dēvarku yāṇṭu 8 vatin etirām āṇṭiṟketirām āṇṭu śittirai māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyanāṟkku Vīrapaṇṭitan tiru maṭattu ppūśaka-
2. rukku tirttoṇḍaril Atirviśiyāṭuvān vākīśāṇṭār śeyvicca paṭi innāy-anāṟkku ilaiyamutu aṭaikkāy amutu amutu śeytaruḷa innāy-anāṟkku vaṭakku Ālālasuntaran tiru ttōppukku nāḷ oṉṟukku eṇpatāka iraṇṭu vēṟṟan ilaiyamutun kaṭamai Śeyum ēttukku
3. nāḷ oṉṟukku nāṟpataṭaikkāy amutu iṭuvārkaḷākavum āṇṭu oṉṟukku ēḻu palakkulai āṭiyaruḷavum amutu śeytaruḷa ippaṭi samatittu śantirāttitta varai śelvatāka ppiṭipāṭu kuṭuttōm eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhmaṇarōm[1] nāyanārku ivai Mānāparaṇa-
4. n eḻuttu ivai Suntara .. .. eḻuttu ivai Tiyākuvinōta brahmātirāyan eḻuttu ivai śīkāriya paṭṭan[2] eḻuttu ivai Nālāyira paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Tiruttoṇḍa nampi eḻuttu ivai Śiriyāṇṭān paṭṭan eḻuttu ivai Tēva piḷḷai eḻuttu

Translation

1-4 Hail! Prosperity! King Māṟavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍiya (in his regnal) year opposite the year opposite the year 8 (year 10) in the month of Caitra (these are) the services instituted by Atirviśiyāḍuvār vāgīśan, a priest attached to the Vīrapaṇḍitan *maṭha* for the provision of betel leaves and areca nut offerings to the deity of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷi nāḍu: 80 areca nuts per day along with two bundles of betel leaves (secured) from the grove called Ālālasundaran *tōppu* situated to the north of the village and also 50 areca nuts per day being the rent (income) from the tenancies, along with seven bunches of (plantain) fruits per year shall be rendered. After agreeing to this, we the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas of this temple (issued) this document. The signatories (were): Mānābharaṇan Sundara .. .. ; Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan; Śrīkārya bhaṭṭan; Nālāyira bhaṭṭan; Tiruttoṇḍa nambi: Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan and Dēva piḷḷai.

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1. In grantha.
2. To be read as bhaṭṭan

No.46: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 3 opposite the year 11.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Tiruvāykkēḷvikkụ mēl Śrī[1] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tribhuva[1]naccakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Su[1]ndara Pāṇṭiya dēvarku yāṇṭu patinoṉṟāvatin etir
2. mūṉṟāmāṇṭu arpaśi māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭai[2]yār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil śikāriya tēvakanmi Śrī māhēśvara kka-
3. ṇkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukkum ikkōyilil eṭṭupaṅkir śivabrāhmaṇarōm piṭipāṭu paṇṇi kkuṭutta pariśāvatu innāyanār kōyir tēvaraṭiy-
4. āril Śempon Tiyāki Śēvakattēvar innāyanāṟku āṭṭai tiruviḷāvāka ttiru ppavitrañ cātti varuvatāka vēṇṭakkaṭava amutupaṭi viñcanattuku iṭṭa
5. accu 14[3] ivvaccu patinālum nāṅkaḷ kaikkoṇṭu ā[5] oṉṟukku accoṉṟukku aḷappatāna nellu 4 kalam 9 kuruṇi ½ nāḷi[4] āka nellu 4 kalam 9 kuruṇi ½ nāḷi[4] āka
6. āṇṭu oṉṟukku nellu[5] 64 kalam 7 kuṟuṇi 2 nāḷi[6] innellu aṟuppattunārkalanē eḻu kuṟuṇi iru nāḷiyum aḷantu aṉṟāṭu Śrīkāriya ttēvarkanmi Śrī māhēśva-
7. ra kaṇkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukkum tesiya āvaṇi māsattaviṭṭa ttirunāḷ tiribuvanacakravattikaḷum ākavum ippaṭi eṅkaḷ pakkal makkaḷum patrāsanaṅko-
8. ṇṭavarkaḷum vilai oṟṟi koṇṭavarkaḷum dhammadānan koṇṭan ceyvār tēvakanmi vantu tiruppavitrañ cātti varuvōm ākavum ippaṭi sammaticcu

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1. In grantha.
2. 'ai' with two 'e' signs.
3. Expressed by a numerical symbol.
4. Expressed by symbols.
5. Expressed by a contraction.
6. Expressed by symbols.

9. sandrādittavar śelvatāka kalliluñ cempilum veṭṭi kkuṭukkavantān āna kāṅkēyarkku brāhmaṇarōm aṉṟāṭu śīkāriyan[7] tēvakanmi śīmāhēśva-
10. ra[8] kaṇkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukku ivai Tēvana paṭṭanāna Mānāparaṇa paṭṭan kaikkoṇṭu eṅkal Sī kailāsam uṛaiyān āṇa Tiyākavinōda brahmādhirāya-
11. n eḷuttu ivai Kotukula paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śiṅkan Uyyan Kiḷamppa-lakaittalaiy iṛaiyyan eḷuttu ivai Śeyyapātam perumāḷ eḷuttu
12. ivai paṭṭan Āṇṭa piḷḷai eḷuttu ivai Uṭaiyān Piṇakkancāṟṟuvān mūvaraiyan eḷuttu ivai uṭaiyān Tōḷiyān Tiruttoṇḍa nampi eḷuttu
13. ivai Śiriyāṇaṭān paṭṭan[9] eḷuttu ivai Āpatsakāya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai imamē taruvār nampiyār eḷuttu ivai Kūttan Śītanaṅkuṭaiyān eḷu-
14. ttu ivai Paṭampaka nāyan Piṇakkarumpan eḷuttu ivai Perumān Sīkayilasam uṭaiyar eḷuttu ivai Śaṅkan uyyavantān eḷuttu Kūttan Aiyyapan ā
15. na Kulaśēkara paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śitti uyyavantān āna Śitti paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai vaṭukan uṭaiyān āna Kalyāṇasundara paṭṭan eḷuttu iverkaḷ śo-
16. lla ippiṭipāṭu eḷutinēn Śikampūr uṭaiyān Karumāṇikka kkōnampi eḷuttu ippaṭi kalveṭṭinēn ikkōyil taccāriyan Koṟṟan po-
17. nmalaiyan Tiruttoṇḍāśāriyan eḷuttu ivai mātēvan Vāḷavallān āṇa Jayamūrti āśāriyan eḷuttu[1] śivam=astu Śrī.[1]

Translation

1-4 Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order of His Majesty King Māṛavarman tribhuvanaccakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya (in the regnal) 11 opposite the third year (year 14), (this is) the letter of authority given in the month of *Arpaśi* by the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷi nāḍu to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṇkāṇi officers of the temple pertaining to the endowment of 14 *accu* by Sempon Tyagi, a *dēvaraṭityār* of the temple made at the request of Sēvattēvar for the provision of the necessary requirements for the annual festival of *pavitra* and for food offerings to this deity.

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7. To be read as Śrīkāryan.
8. To be read as Śrī māhēśvara.
9. To be read as bhaṭṭan.
1. *Piḷḷaiyār śuli.*

5-8 Having taken over this 14 *accu* we agreed to measure out 64 *kalam* 7 *kuṛuni* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy per annum at the rate of 4 *kalam* 9 *kuṛuṇi* and ½ *nāḷi* per *accu* to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṇkāṇi officers then holding office and conduct the festivities on the day of Dhaniṣṭhā in the month of Āvaṇi (ie., the king's birthday). Thus witnessed by subjects who have been given the *patrāsana* and those who (agreed) to buy the produce for a fixed price and also the dēvarkanmi who supervise the *dharma dāna* gifts, we (the śivabrāhmaṇas) assume the responsibility of maintaining this *pavitra*.

9-10 Having agreed thus as long as the sun and moon last, Gāṅgēya shall engrave this on stone and copper. (This is) the deed given by the eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhmaṇan to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarhanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṇkāṇi officers. This was taken over by Dēvana bhaṭṭan Mānābharaṇa bhaṭṭan. The signatories (were): Śrī Kailāsam uṭaiyān Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan; Kotukula bhaṭṭan

11-15) Āṇḍa piḷḷai; Uyyan Kiḻampalakaittalai iraiyyan; Jayapādam perumāḷ piṇakkancārruvan mūvaraiyan; Tōliyan Tiruttoṇḍa nambi; Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan Mūvaraiyan; Tōliyan Tiruttoṇḍa nambi; Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan; Āpatsahāya bhaṭṭan; Imamē taruvār nambi; kūttan Sītanaṅguḍaiyan; Patampākanāyan piṇakkarumpan; Śrī Kailāsam Uṭaiyān Śaṅkan Uyyavandān; Kūttan Aiyyappan Kulaśēkhara bhaṭṭan; Siddhi bhaṭṭan; Kalyāṇasundara bhaṭṭan.

16-17 At the dictation of these, I, Karumāṇikka nambi of Śirukampūr wrote this document. It was engraved on stone by Koṟṟan Ponmalai Tiruttondacaryan, the carpenter (architect) of this temple. This is the signature of Mahādēvan Vāḷavallān or Jayamūrti ācāryan. Let there be peace (and) prosperity.

No.47: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 15 (year 16).

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.
Language: Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī[1] Tiruvāykkēḷvikku mēl śrī[1] Kō Māṟapanmarāna tribhuvana[1] ccakkaravatikaḷ[2] Śrī Sundara Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu 15

1. In grantha.
2. To be read as tribhuvanacakravartikaḷ.

vatin etirām āṇṭu māśi māsaṃ Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil śikāriyan ceyvār[3] sīmāhēśvara kaṇkāṇi śe-

2. yvarkkum ikkōyilil eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhma[1]ṇarōm piṭipāṭu kuṭutta pariśāvatu innāyanār tirukkāmakkōṭṭam uṭaiya periya nācciyārkku śiṟukālai ccanti eḻarai nāḻikai poḷutu tiruviḷakku eriya santyādīpam āka peṟṟa Irājarāja erivira paṭṭiṇattu

3. niccittakaṇṭa perun teṟuvil Aḻakiyan iṭṭa nallāṇai accu 1 ivvaccu oṉṟum kaikkoṇṭu candrādityavat[1] santyādīpam erippatāka sammatittu[4]

Translation

1-3 Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order (of) His Majesty King Māṟavarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya (issued in the) year opposite the year 15 (year 16) in the month of Māśi, (this is) the document (signed) by the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḷḷi nāḍu to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṇkāṇi officers of this temple pertaining to the gift of one *ānai accu* by Aḻakiyan, a resident of Niccittakaṇṭha perun teruvu (high street) in Rājarāja erivīra paṭṭaṇam which was to be utilised for a twilight lamp to the goddess in the dēvi shrine of this deity. The lamp was to burn continuously till the early morning service in the shrine $7\frac{1}{2}$ *nāḻikai* after sunrise. Having taken over this one *accu*, we agreed to maintain this twilight lamp as long as the sun and moon last.

No.48: Inscription of Tribhuvanacakravartin Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved. It seems to refer to a gift of money to the temple.

No.49: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil

3. To be read as Śrīkāryanceyvār.
4. Stops abruptly

1. Svasti Śrī[1] tiru Kō Māṛapanmarāna tiripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ śōnāṭu vaḷaṅki aruḷiya Śrī Suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvarkku yāṇṭu .. ..[2]
2. uṭaiyār kōilil[3] śivappirāmiṉan iṭai nīkki Tukkaiy[4] āḷvān āṉa Nicci-ttakaṇṭanēn yikkōyilil śrīkāryam .. .. ..[2]
3. .. mum śīmākēccora kaṇkāṇi śeyvārkum[5] nān kalveṭṭi kuṭutta pariśāvatu kāttikai māsattu uttirāṭattu nāḷ .. ..[2]
4. .. .. nai .. tiruttoṇḍavupaiyam iṭṭa accu onrum nān kaiyir kkoṇṭu ivvupaiyam .. .. oṉṟu .. ..[2]

Translation

1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māṛavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya, who bestowed the Cōḷa nāḍu (in his) year .. ..
2) Durgai ālvān Niccittakaṇṭhan, a śivabrāhmaṇa of this temple gave this agreement to the śrīkāryam
3) and Śrī māhēśavara kaṇkāṇi officers of this temple by engraving on stone (that he would) conduct the festival on the day of Uttirāṭam (uttara āṣāḍha) in the month of Kārttika,
4) from the *accu* endowed by Tiruttondan .. ..

No.50: Inscription of Kōnērinamaikoṇḍān, year 6 and day 20.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī Tribhuv[1]anackravatti Kōnēriṉmaikoṇṭān Muḷḷi nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Śrī Irājarāja ccaturvedimaṅkalattu
2. sabahai[1]yāṛku taṅkaḷūr tenpāl pilā viḷaikkāṭu veṭṭi paṟṟil kāṇiyāḷar pakkal Neṭṭūr uṭaiyān Iḷaiyāḷvān
3. Pāṇṭiya tēvar vilaikoṇṭa nancey[2] puncey[3] tōṭṭam nattam nīr nilai maram uṭpaṭa nāṅkellaikuṭpaṭṭa paṟṟu ikārāṇmai kāṇiyākavum

1. In Grantha.
2. A portion is missing.
3. To be read as kōyilil.
4. To be read as Durgai.
5. To be read as Śrī māhēśvar kaṇkaṇi śeyvārkum.
2. To be read as nancey.
3. To be read as puncey

uṭaiyār Tirunelvēli uṭaiya nāyanāṟku tēvatānam ākavum ittāl varum neṟ kaṭamai ponvari tilavari peruvari uḷḷiṭṭa eppērpaṭṭa anaittu upātikaḷum tevaikaḷum ancāvatin etirām āṇṭu kāṟ mutal tavirttu variyilum

4. kaḷikka cconnōm ippaṭikku ivvōlai piṭipāṭāka koṇṭu nāṅkellaikaḷile tiruccūla sthāpanam[1] paṇṇi kuṭukkavum iyartu eṟa ccurukkam uṭpaṭa nancey[2] nilam mukkālē mukkāṇi muntirikaiyil innāyanāṟkku munpu tiruvōṭaippuram tiruttō-

5. ppu ppuṟam āna nilam kālē mukkāṇi nīkki nīkki nilam araiyē muntirikayil nattattuṭan kūṭum nilam arai māvum arccanā virutti nilam muntirikaiyum nīkki nilam onpatu māvaraikkum nattaṁ puncey[3] tōṭṭam nīr nilai maram uṭpaṭṭa paṟṟukku

6. ner kkaṭamai ponvari nattavari tōṭṭavari ppunceykkaṭamai kāṇakkai[1] paccai uḷḷiṭṭa eppērpaṭṭa upātikaḷum tēvaikaḷum uṭpaṭa kāṟukku nellu muṉṉūṟṟu kkalam paṇam patinaincum paśānattukku nellu muṉṉūṟṟu kkalam paṇam patinaincum

7. āka aiññāḷikkāl Vīra Pāṇṭiyanāl āṇṭoṉṟukku veḷḷai nellu aṟunūṟṟu kalam paṇam muppatil innāyanār kōyilil mutaliyār puraṭṭāti mārkaḷi paṅkuni āṇi ttirunāḷkaḷil tiruvanantāḷ eḻuntaruḷi ēriyaruḷināl

8. tiruppāvāṭai amutu śeyya amutupaṭi uḷḷiṭṭa veṅcanattukkum immutal taṇṭum pāśilāṇṭārkaḷukkum nellu aiññūṟṟu irupattu aiṅkalamum tirunāḷkaḷil tiruppāvāṭai amutu śetaruḷināl śāttum oru mālai orānaikkum tiru

9. neṟṟi kkaṭṭukkum tiru cceṅkaḻunīrkku ppaṇam muppatum mutaliyārkku munpu Tirujñānam ōtum āṇṭārkku jīvanattukku āṇṭu oṉṟukku nellu eḻuppaattaiṅ kalamum āka aṟunūṟṟu kala nellum muppatin paṇamum vāṭā kaṭamai āka iruttu ivarum ivar varkattārum

10. kārāṇmai kkāṇiyāka anupavippatāka tēvatānamāka variyili kaḷikka cconnōm ippaṭikku ivvōlai piṭipāṭāka koṇṭu śantirātittavar śella kallilum śempilum veṭṭi kkuṭukka ivai taccan Nenmēli uṭaiyān eluttu[2] yāṇṭu āṟāvatu nāḷ 20

11. Itu Vāṇataraiyan eḻuttu[2] tulyam[2] ippaṭikku ivveluttu veṭṭinēn i ur[3] Ccippāśśriyan Perumā-

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2. Piḷḷaiyar śuḻi
3. To be read as ivvūr.

12. ḷāna karuṇākara āśāriyan eḻuttu[2]

Translation.

1) Hail! Prosperity! Tribhuvanacakravarti Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān,-

2) To the members of the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi nāḍu:- The jack-tree garden situated in the *veṭṭiparru* to the south of their village, which Iḷaiyālvān Pāṇḍya

3) dēvan had purchased along with the dry and wet cultivable land, gardens, trees and water facilities within the four boundaries as a unit from the tenants as *kārāṇmai kāṇi* (lease hold) and was (gifted) as a *dēvadāna* to the deity at Tirunelveli after being exompted from the payment of the tax in paddy, the tax in cash, tax in sesamum and other levies and customary dues from the sixth year beginning with the season of kāṟ. (This) was ordered

4) to be entered in the registers. Taking this document as the letter of authority and after fixing the boundary stones bearing the trisula marks on the four boundaries, the following land (was) set apart: 1/4 *mā*, 3 *kāni* and 1 *muntirikai* along with the 1/4 *mā*,

5) 3 *kāṇi* of the grove preiously endowed as *tiruttōppu puṟam* and *tiruvōṭai puram* to this deity and in the remaining portion of 1/2 *mā* and 1 *muntirikai*, the *nattam* land being 1/2 *mā* and 1 *muntirikai* as the *arcanā vritti*, after setting these apart, land to the extent of $9\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* in all including the wet, dry, cultivable and garden land with water facilities and the tress that stood on

6) the land, The income in paddy and the taxes in cash, levy on *nattam*, garden and waste land as also the customary dues on wet land and other items (such as) *kāṇikkai* and *paccai* amounted to 300 *kalam* of white rice and 15 *panam* in cash for the *kār* season and similarly for *Paśān*;

7) and per annum 600 *kalam* of white rice measured by the *Vīra Pāṇḍyan*, a measure of 5 *nāḷi* and 30 paṇam.

8) (Out of this) 525 *kalam* was to be utilised for the festivals and food offerings in the temple during the months of Puraṭṭādi (Bhādrapada), Mārgaḷi (Mārgśīṟam), Paṅkuni (Phālguma) Āni (Āśvina) and for the procession of the Goddess as also for *tiruuppāvaṭai* (garments for the Goddess).

9) The 30 *paṇam* was for the requirements of flower garlands and for an elephant (for the procession) with the necessary decorations and for

tiruccenkalunīr[I] (tender cocoanut juice). 75 *kalam* of paddy per annum was the remuneration (*jīvana*) for the reciter of the *Tirujñānam* in front of the deity. This 600 *kalam* of paddy and 30 *paṇam* shall be treated as *vāṭākkaṭan* (non diminshing return)

10) and the lease hold shall be enjoyed by (Pāṇḍya dēvan) and those of his clan and (be) made a *dēvadāna* and this was ordered to be entered into the registers. After (arranging) this document to be treated as the letter of authority to last as the sun and moon, it was engraved on stone and copper. This is the signature of Nenmēli uḍaiyān, the carpenter.

11) This is the signature of Dāṇadaraiyan. True copy. Thus this was

12) engraved by Karuṇākaraṇ Ācāryan, the śilpācārya.

No.51: Inscription of the Māhēśvaras and śrī rudras.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] taṇṭiccān ōlai śakan cūḷ vaiyyakattu taṇṭiccān karumamāyar paṇṭē aṟanceytān śeytān aṟan kāttān pātan tinam pāmara ceṉṉimēl vaittu kīḻvempa nāṭṭu Ttirunelvēliyir uṭaiyār Tirunelvēli uṭaiyār kōyilil tirumaṇṭapattu Śrī u rurttirarum[2] śuttamallimaṅkalamum[3] añcu kukaiyir tiruttoṇḍarum tiruviṭiyāṇṭārkaḷum pariśalāṇṭārkaḷum maṟṟum patineṉ viṣaiyattu śrī uruttirarum śuttamallimaṅkalamum añcu kukai
2. tiru Śī māyēśurarum[4] ivvanaivōmum[5] irukka Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīśuram uṭaiya nāyanār tirumaṭaiviḷākam mērtalai Ccuttamallimaṅkalattu Śrī uruttirar Śrī māyēśurarum kumpiṭṭirukkum tiruttoṇṭar
3. inke vantu arivittiṭattu Tiruvālīśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār tirukkāmakkōṭṭam uṭaiya nācciyāṟku amutupaṭi illaiyeṉṟu yurai[6] muṉṉāl eṅkaḷukku aṟivittiṭattu Kulaśēkaran tirumaṇṭapattu niṟai

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I. This was needed for the *abiṣēka* of the deities.

1. In grantha.
2. To be read as Śrī rudrarum.
3. To be read as Śuddhamallimaṅgalamum; name of a brāhmaṇa village.
4. To be read as mhēśvararum.
5. To be read as ivvanaivorum.
6. To be read as urai.

4. vara niṟaintu kuṟai vara kūṭi yiruntu ettarai .. ..[7].

Translation.

1) Hail! Prosperity! The order (document) of the maintainer of *daṇḍa* (the king), the one who orders or directs, examines the duties practises *dharma* and protects it by placing his feet upon the heads of the wicked in this world. (which is) surrounded by an annular continent named after tree called *cākam*[8].

2-4) While the Śrīrudras, Śrīmāhēśvaras, the representatives of śuddhamallimaṅgalam and the devotees of the order of the five *guha* had assembled in quorum at the pillared hall called Kulaśēkharan *mandapa* in the temple of Tirunelvēli in Kīḻvemba nāḍu the Śrī māhēśvaras and devotees of Suddhamallimangalam, which formed the western limits of the temple of Tiruvālīśvaram in Muḻḻi nāḍu having come here and informed us orally that the deity and the Goddess of the *Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam* of Tiruvālīśvaram had no (endowments for) food offering ......[9]

No.52: Inscription of the year 26 and day 345.

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] aruḷicceyal Śrī Irājarāja ocaturvēdimaṃkalattu[2] sabhaiyārkku taṅkaḷur tenpāl kāṭuveṭṭi nāṅkellaikk uṭpaṭṭa paṟṟil U-
2. ṭaiyār Tirunelvēli uṭaiya nāyanāṟkku munpu tēvatānam āna nilam
3. nīkki nīkki uḷḷa paṟṟāyapiṟa[3] ppūkaṇṭanum śiṟukallūr nāyarum
4. pakkal Taivaccilai pperumāḷ Iḷaiyāḻvan āna Kāliṅgarāyan vilai koṇṭa
5. ōlai ppaṭi nāṅkellaikk uṭpaṭṭa paṟṟu uṭaiya Tirunelvēli uṭaiya
6. nāyanāṟku kaṭamaiyum kāliṅkarāyarku kārāṇmai kkāṇiyum āka irupattu āṟāvatu āṇi

7. Damaged and incomplete.
8. *Tamil Lexicon,* III, P.1352 under *śākattīvu.*
9. The inscription is damaged and incomplete.
1. In grantha.
2. Note the use of the anusvara.
3. This is a Malyalam word meaning granary.

7. mātam mutal tēvatānam āka kuṭuttu ittāl varum nel kaṭamai ponvari tōṭṭavari
8. punśey kaṭamai uḷḷiṭṭa eppērpaṭṭa anaittu upātikaḷum variyili kaḷit-
9. ta mutal aṭaṅka iṟaiyili āka kuṭuttōm ippaṭikku ivvōlai piṭipāṭaka
10. kkoṇṭu śantirātittavar śella kallilum śempilum veṭṭi nāṅkellaik-
11. kaḷilum tiruccūla sthāpanamum[1] paṇṇi kkuṭukka ivai Ponpeṟṟi uṭaiyān eḻuttu yāṇṭu 26[5] vatu nāḷ 345[5] ivai kulśēkara vāṇataraiyan eḻuttu tulyam[1]
12. ippaṭi kallilum śempilum veṭṭinēn ivūr sippāsāriyan[6] Karuṇākara āśāriyan eḻuttu

Translation.

1-4) Hail! Prosperity! At the graceful instance (of the king), (the information addressed) to the members of the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam (pertaining to) the former *dēvadāna* land of the deity of Tirunelveli lying within the four boundaries as a unit in their village (to the south) and the purchase of (a portion of it) by Kāliṅgarāyan Daivaccilai perumāḷ Ilaiyālvān from Bhūkaṇṭhan of the granary and the Nāyar of of Sirukallūr

5-10) In the sale deed, the *kaḍamai* rights of the land was assigned to the deity of Tirunelvēli and the *kārāṇmai* to kaliṅgarāyan from the 26th year and month of Āni. It was made a *dēvadāna* and the paddy accruing from the land, the cash income, garden cess and other dues on the wet land besides the customary dues (were) entered in the registers and the (whole property) was made tax-free. This order may be taken as the title deed to be offective as long as the sun and moon last and as ongraved on

11-12) stone and copper after fixing the boundary stones with the trident mark. This is the signature of Ponperri uṭaiyān. Year 26, day 345. This is the signature of Kulaśēkhara vāṇadaraiyan. True copy. Thus I, Karuṇākara ācāryan, the śilpācārya of this village engraved (this) on stone and copper. This is my signature.

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5. Expressed by numerical symbols.
6. To be read as śirpācāryan.

No.53: Flower Slap inscription of Puruçōttaman.

Script: Tamil and *grantha.*

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī[1] ittiruppū palakai ṣeyvittān
2. Bhasuriyāna Nākatēvan Puruṣōttaman 2[2]

Translation.

1) Hail! Prosperity! This holy stone board for preparing flowers was caused to be made
2) by Bhāsuri Nāgadēvan Puruṣōttaman.

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1. In grantha.
2. The figures of what look like a lotus bud with a long stalk and the *piḷḷaiyār ṣuḷḷi* are engraved.

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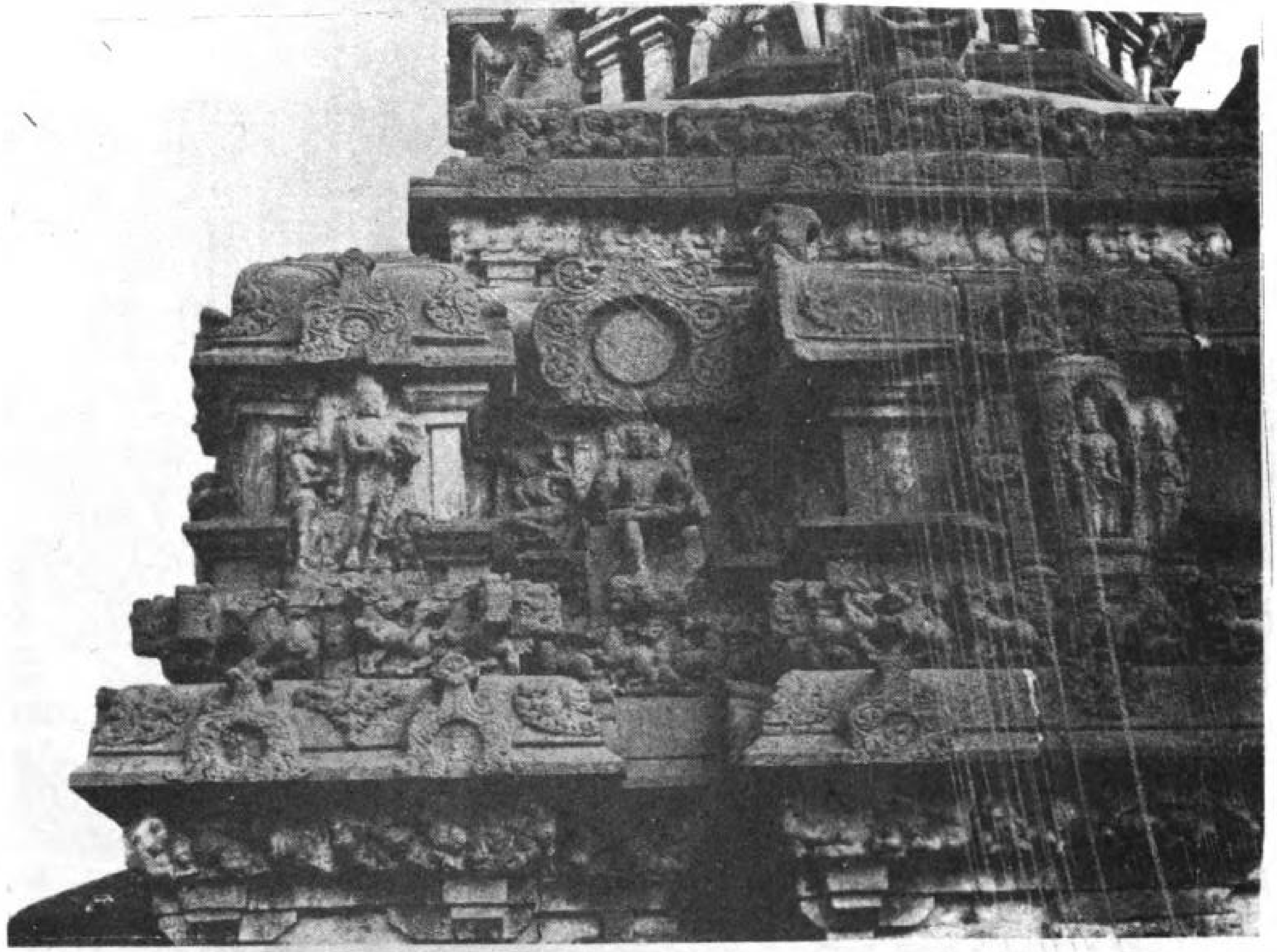
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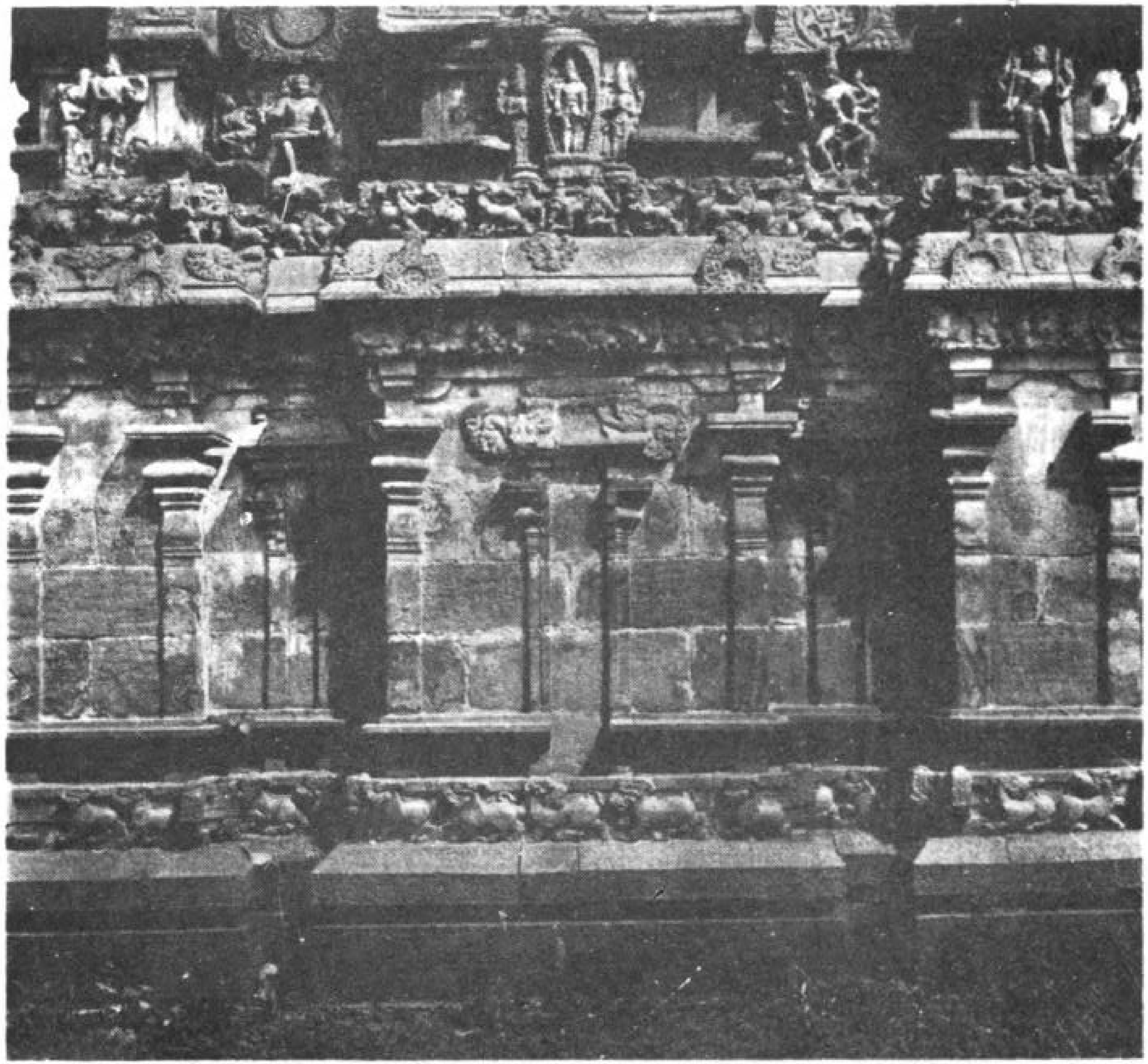
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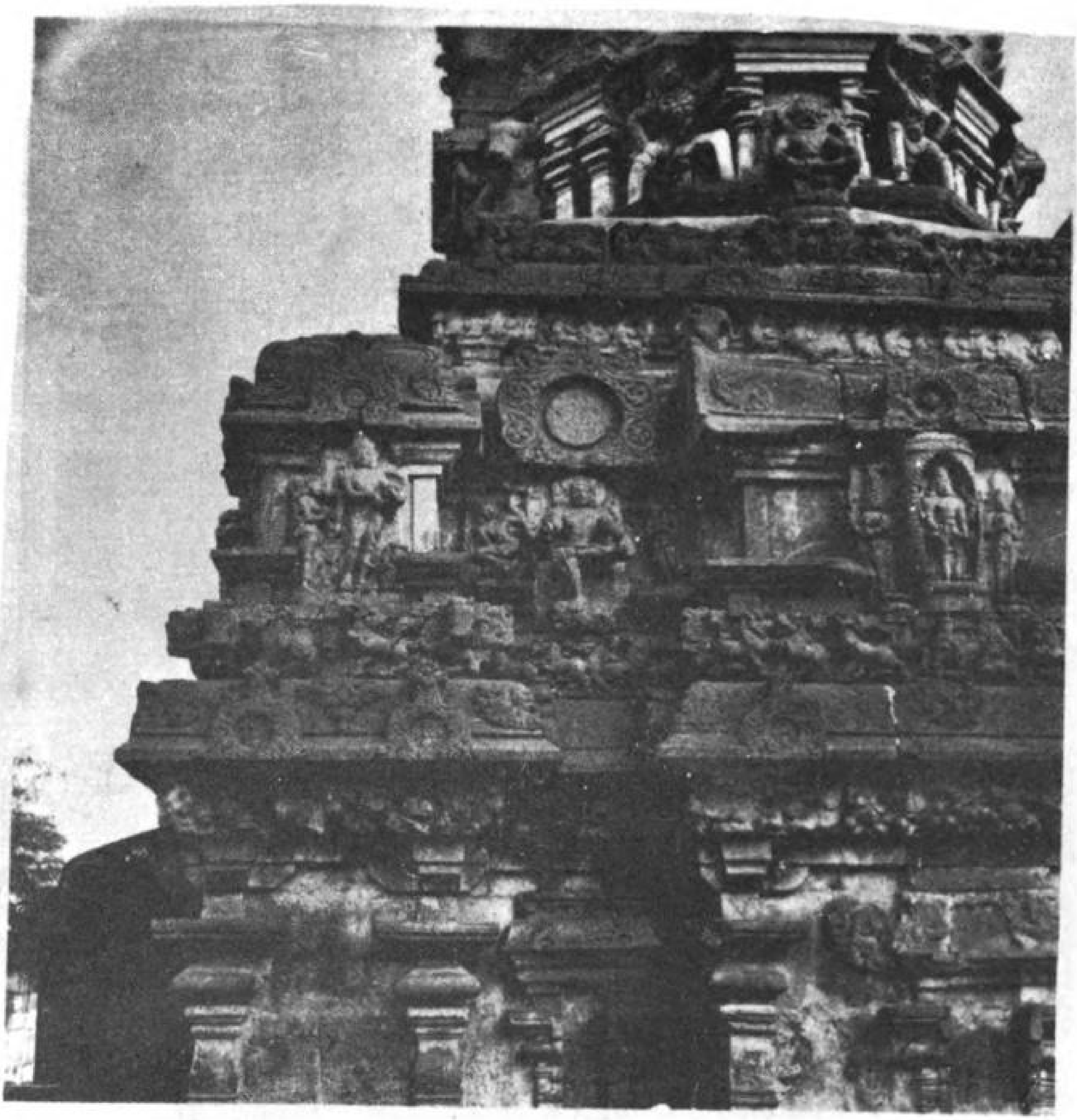
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1. View from west, of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



2. *West wall, pilastered wall niches and first tala of super structure inscribed c AD 900 granite & brick*



3. View from west, of image on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



4. *View from south of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick*



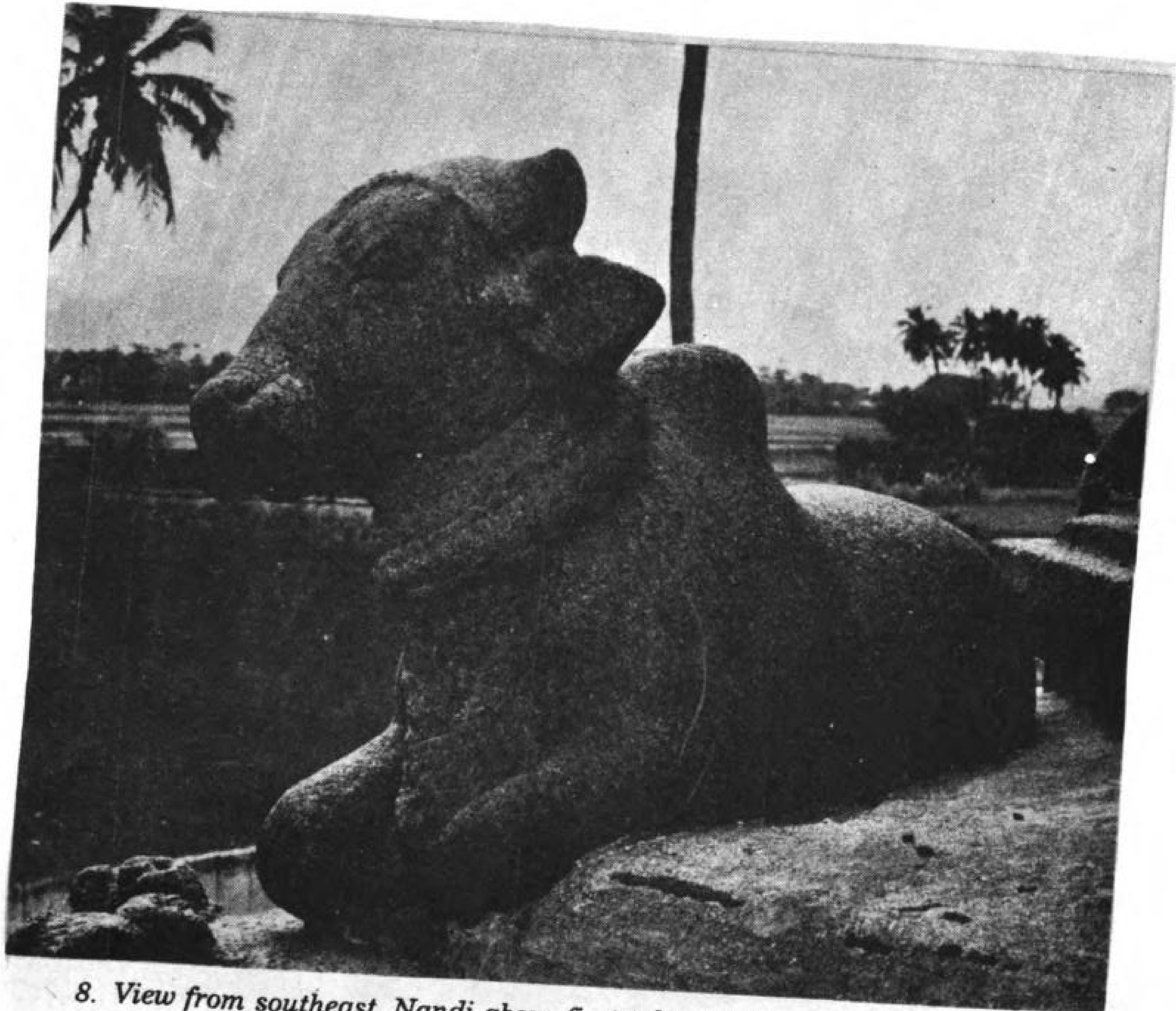
5. View from south of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



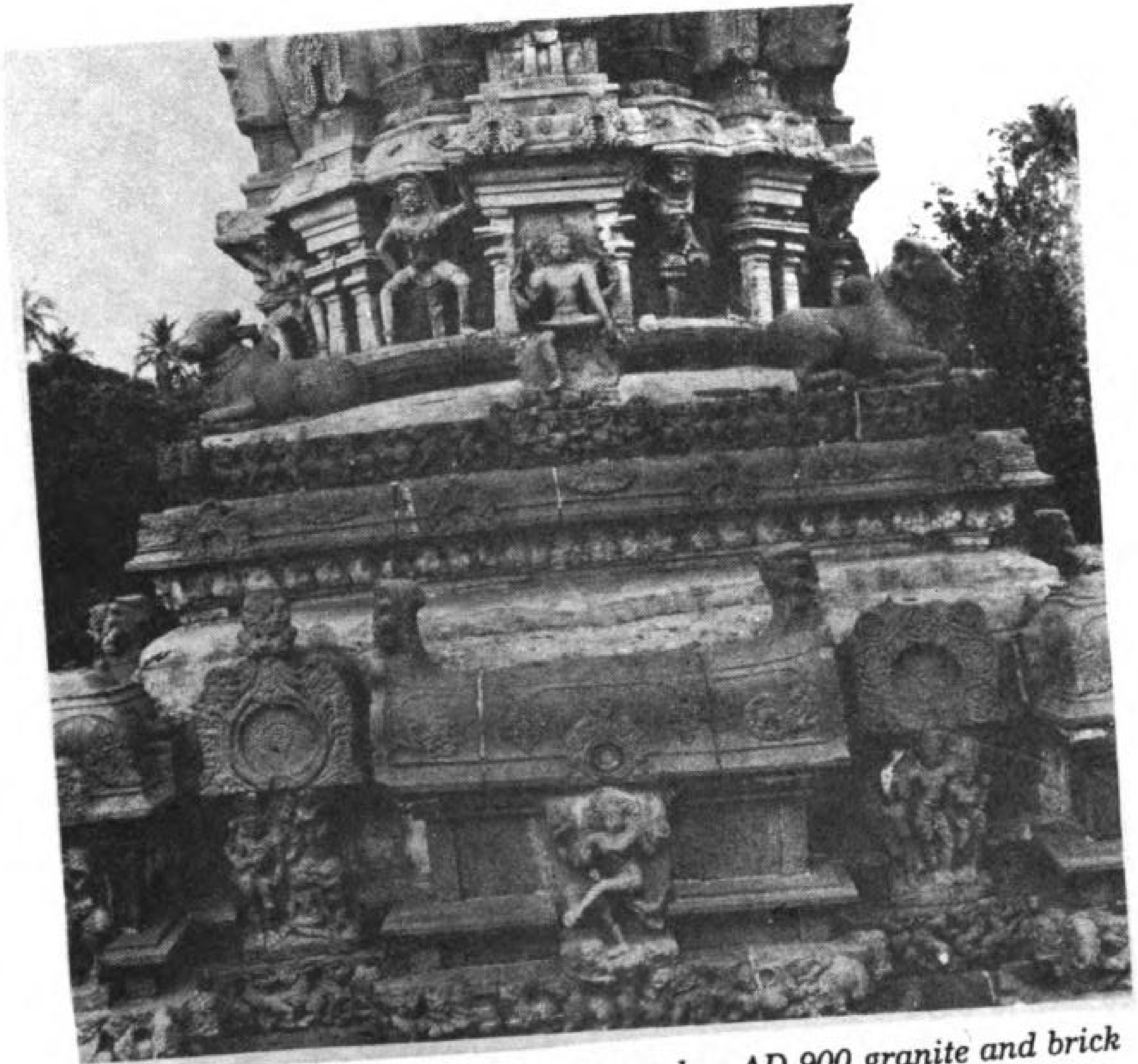
6. View from east, detail of Indra on griva of temple c AD 900 granite and brick



7. *View from southeast, cornice of first tala c AD 900 granite and brick*



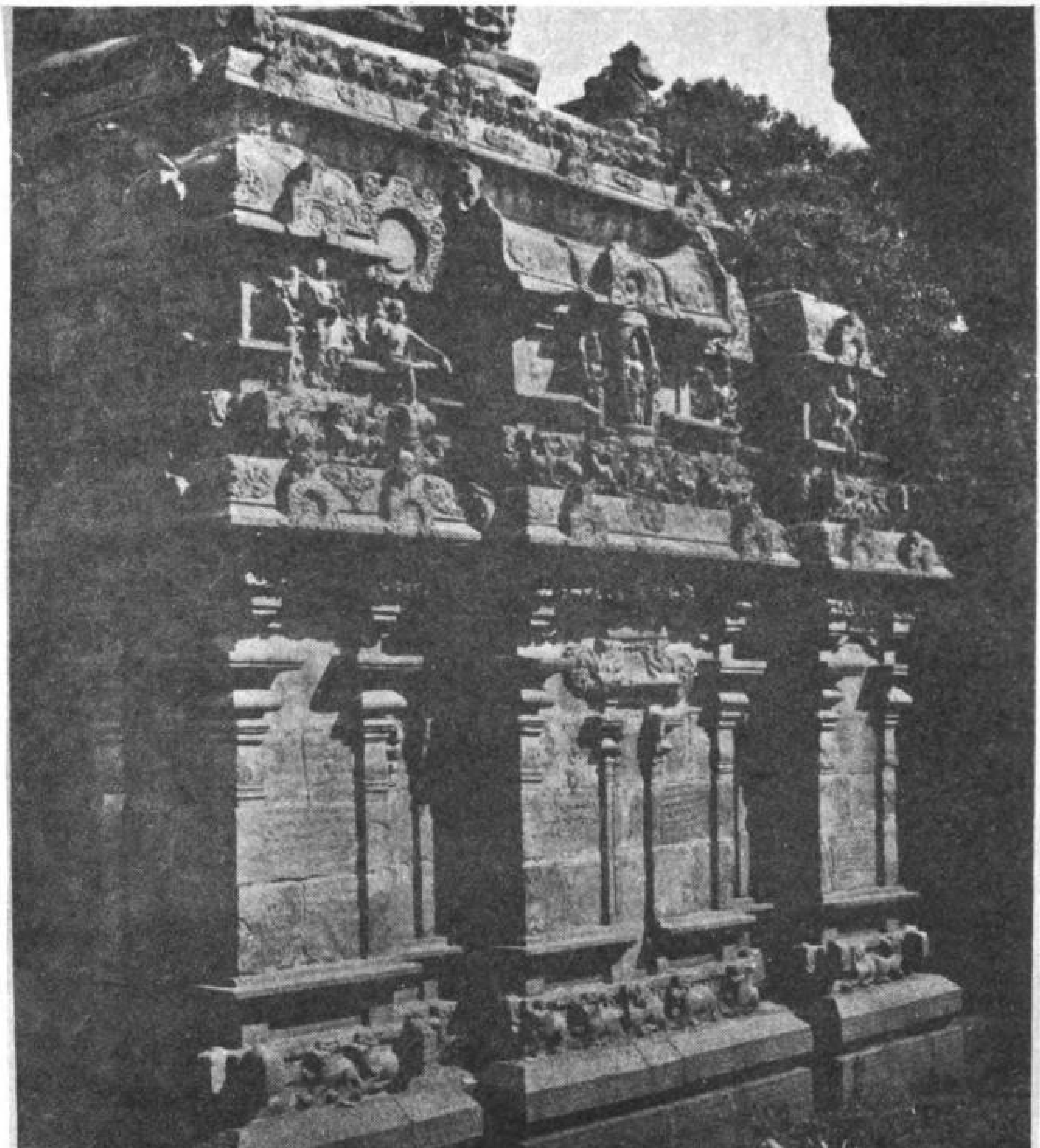
8. *View from southeast, Nandi above first tala c AD 900 granite and brick*



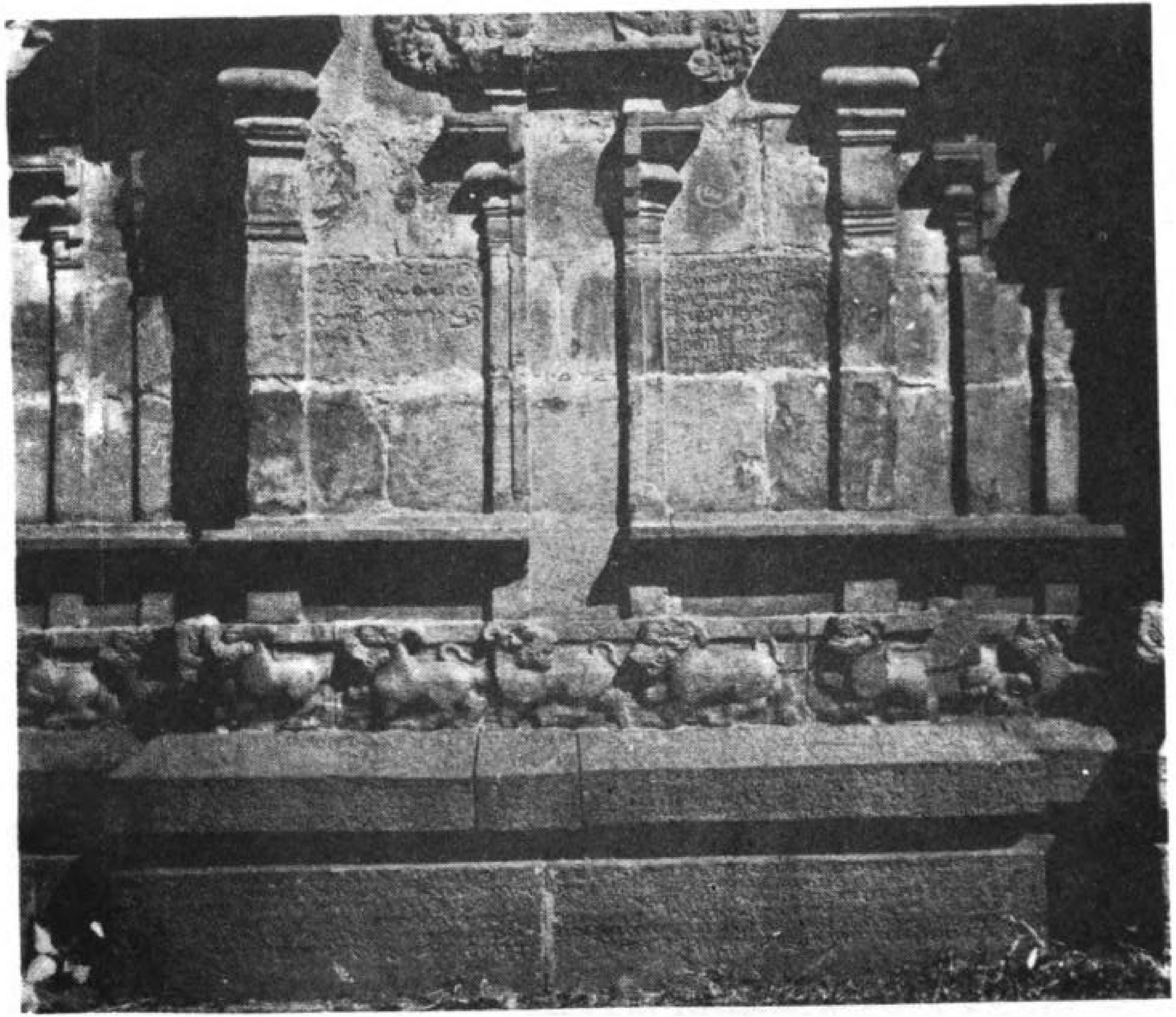
9. *View from south, images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick*



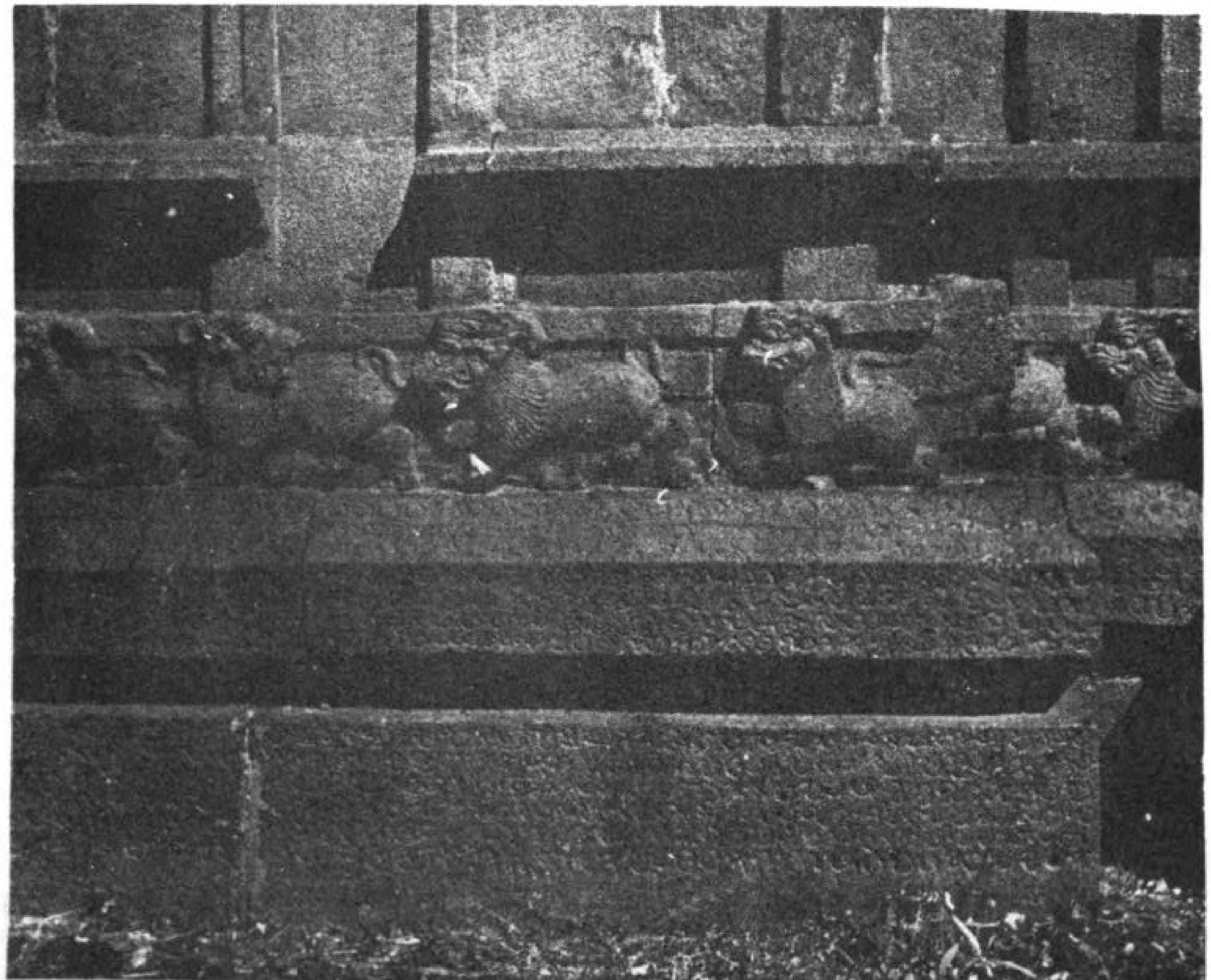
10. General view of vimana, from southwest inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick



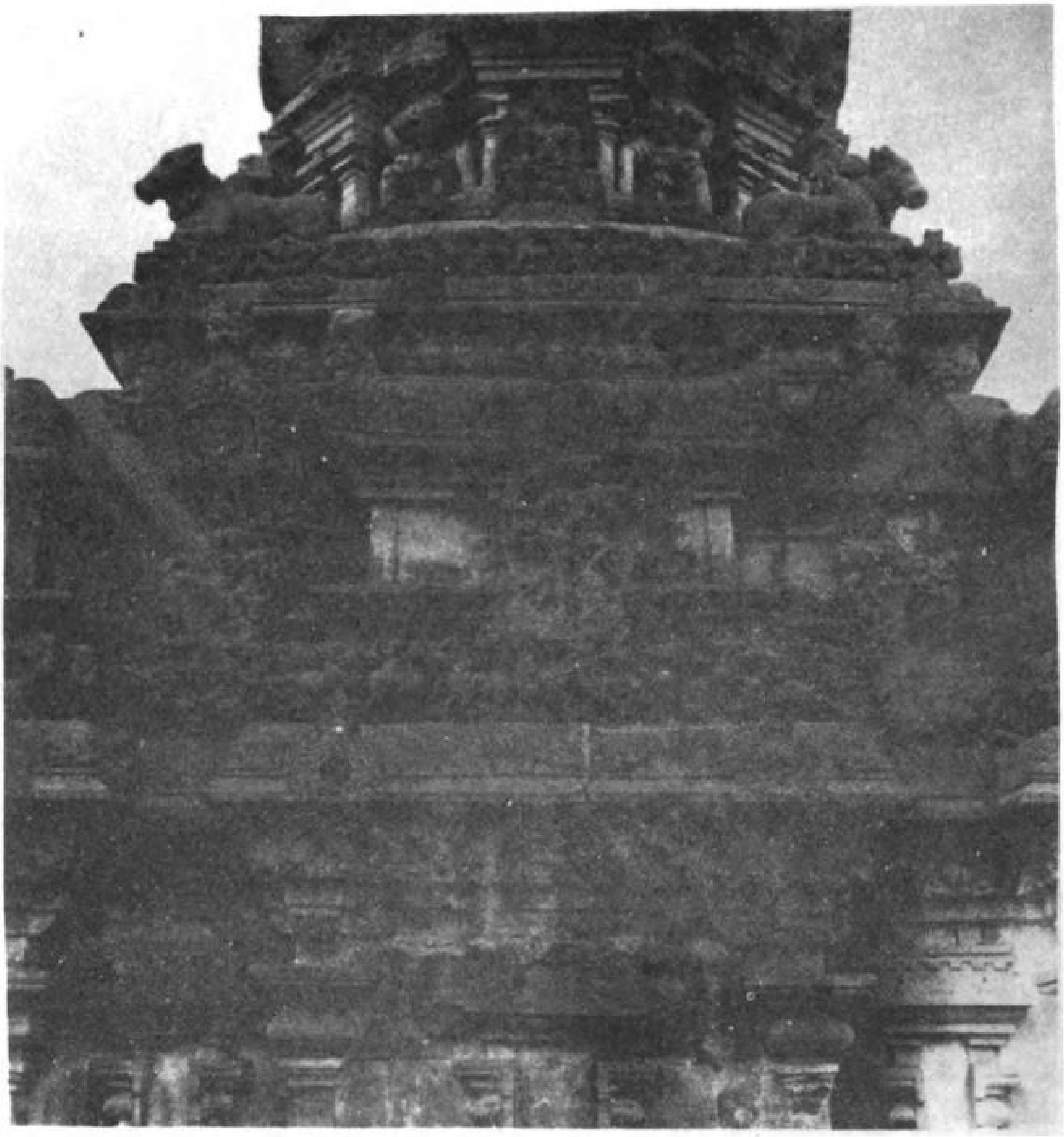
11. General view of vimana from northwest c AD 900 granite and brick



12. West wall, niches inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick



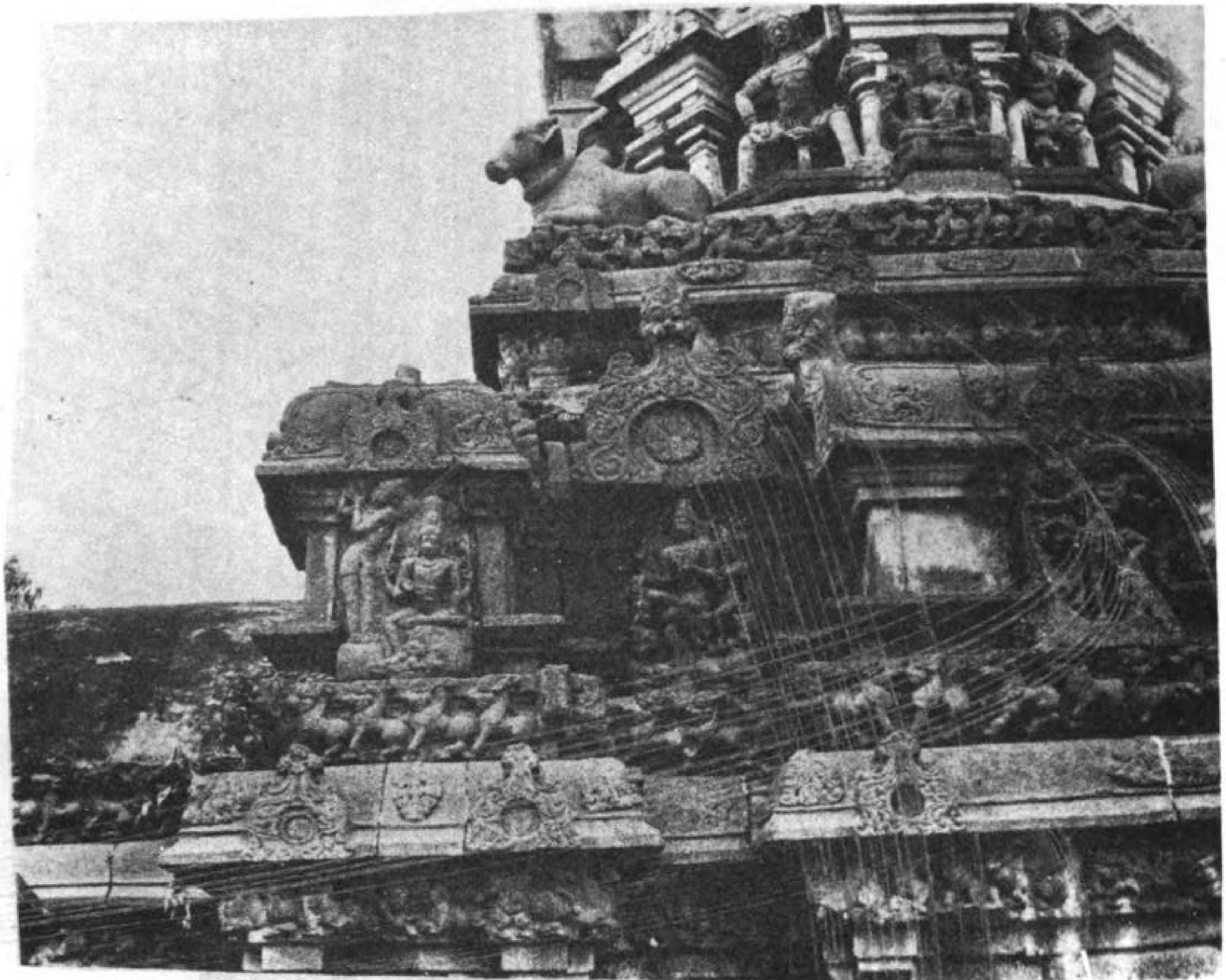
13. West wall, niches inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick



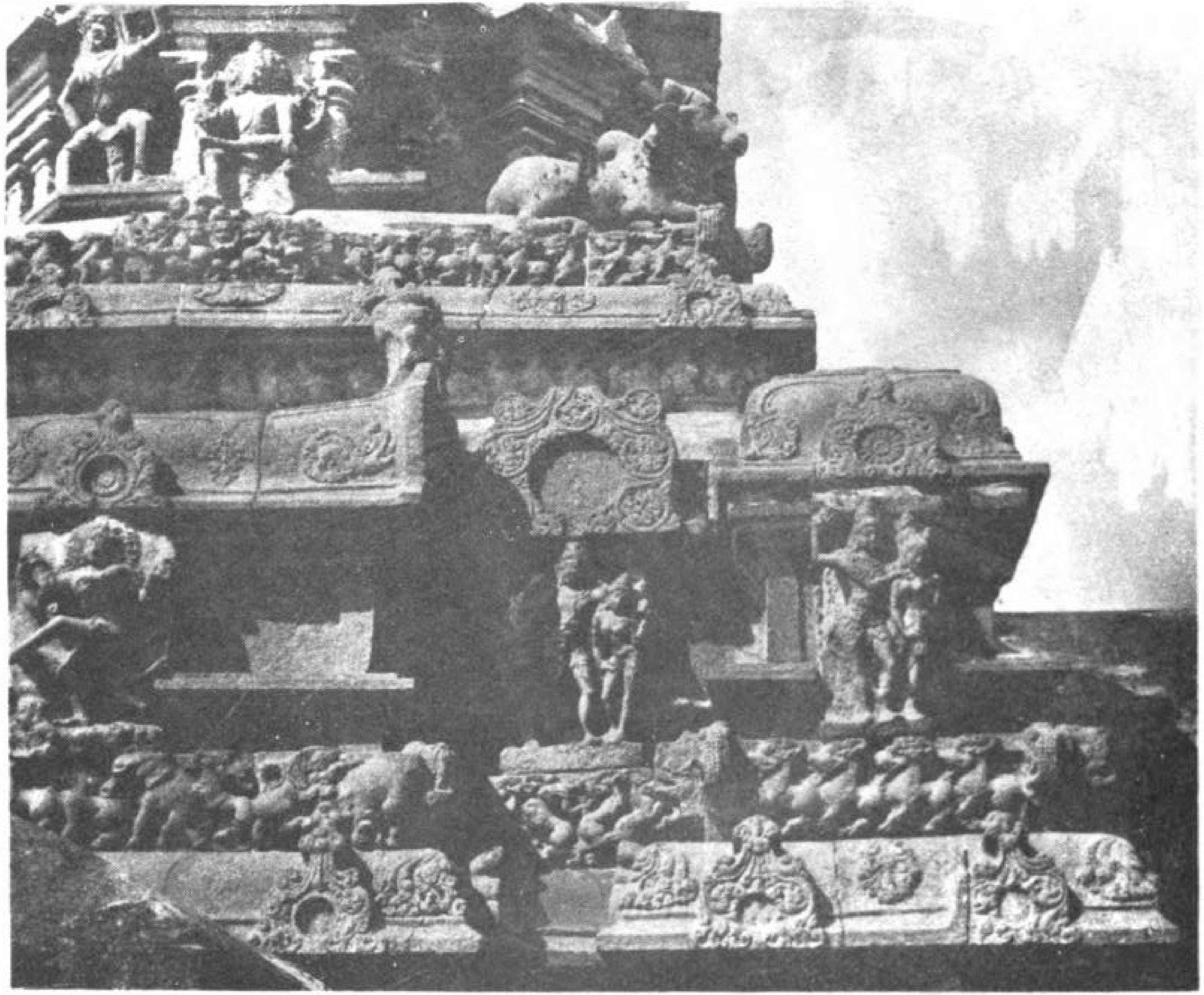
14. General view from north of images on second tala c AD 900 granite and brick



15. General view from north of images on second tala c AD 900 granite



16. *North wall, image on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick*



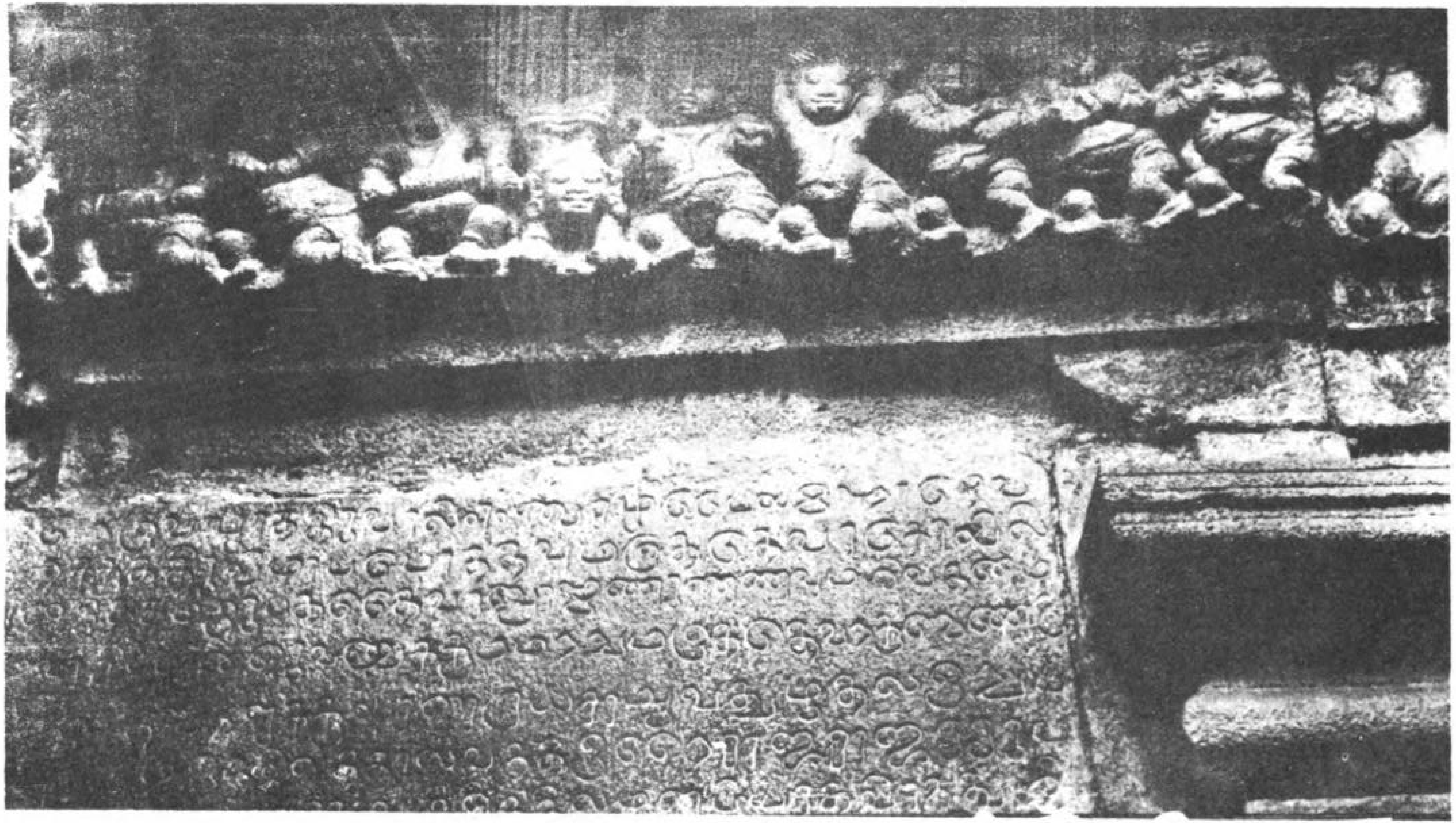
17. View from south, images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



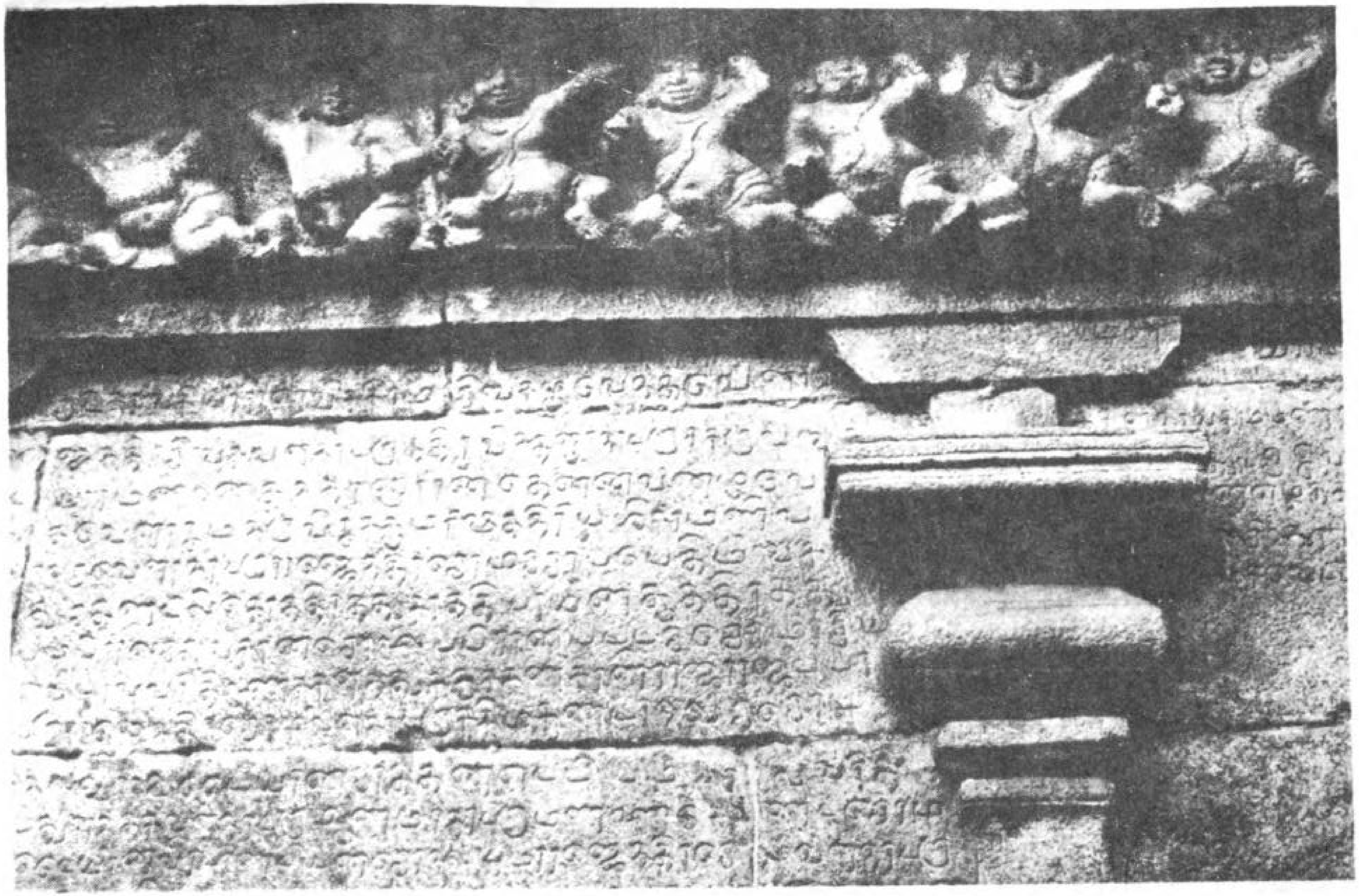
General view from north of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



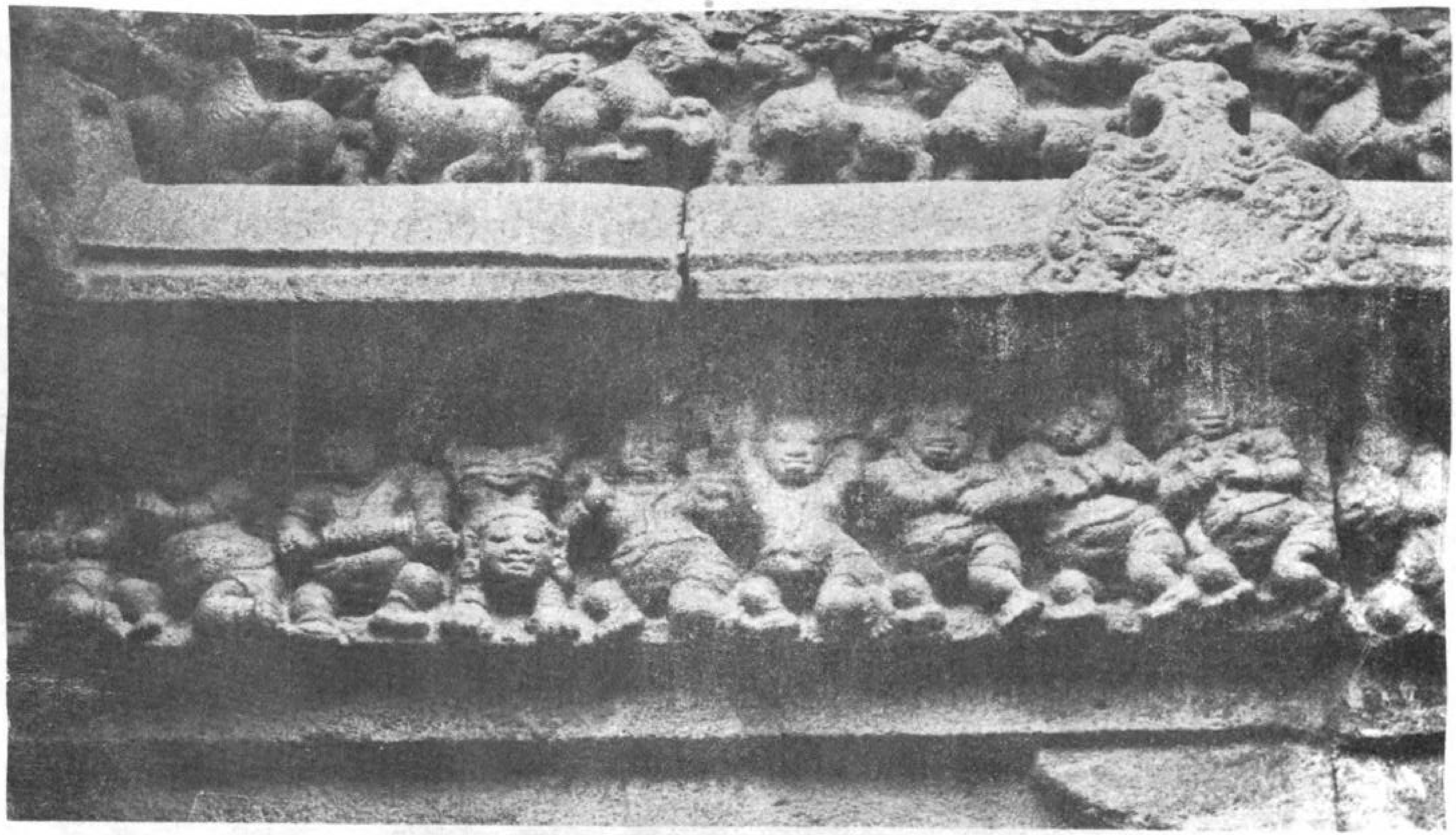
19. View from southwest, of first tala of super structure, octagonal griva and sikhara c AD 900 granite and brick



20. Details of south wall, showing bhutavalabhi kapota and vyalavari in-
'hed c AD 900 granite and brick



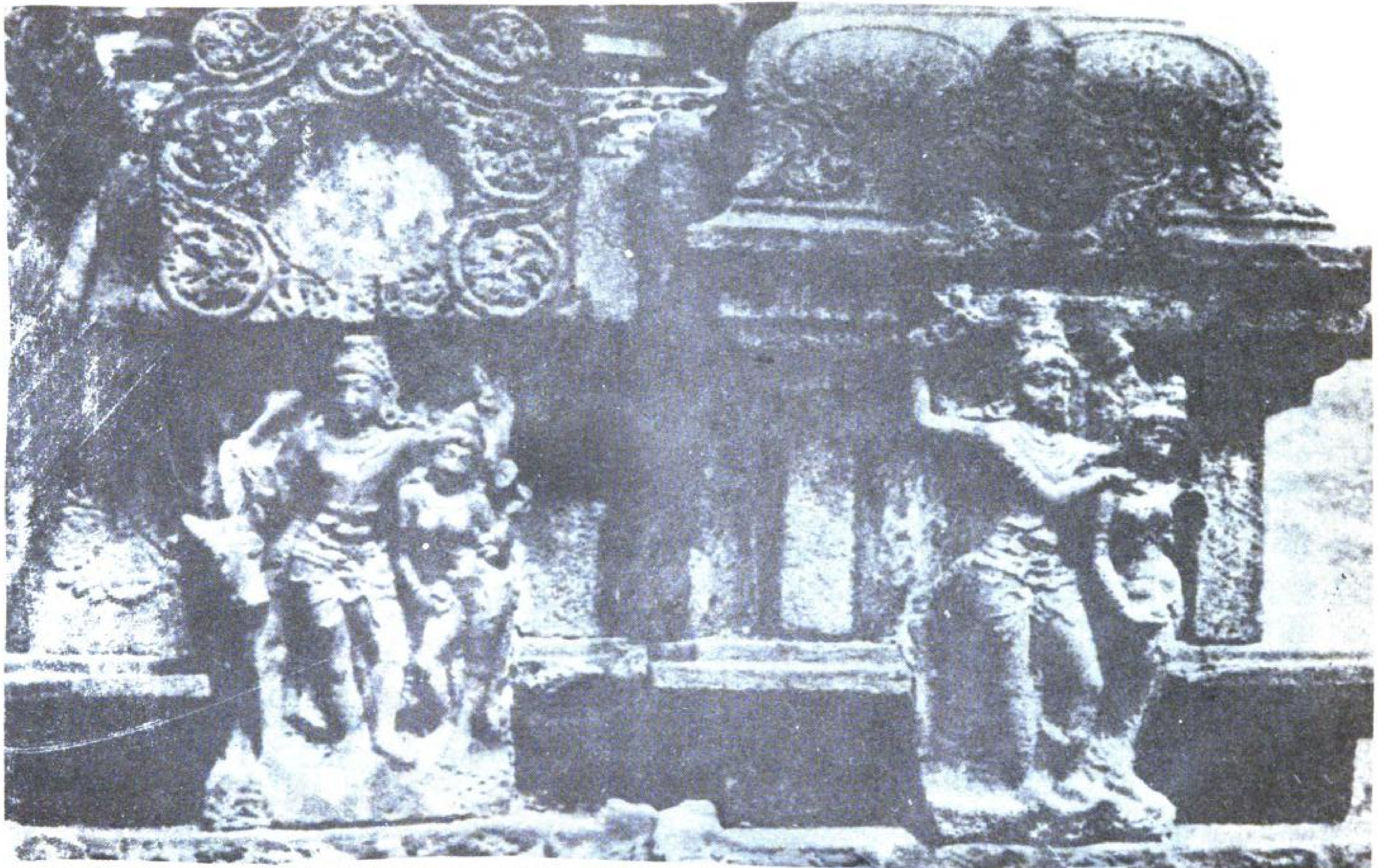
21. *Detail of south wall, bhutavalabhi, kapota and vyalavari inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick*



22. *Detail of south wall, bhutavalabhi, kapota and vyalavari inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick*



23. View from southeast, of first tala, south side c AD 900 granite and brick



24. Bas relief of Uma Sahita and Kalyana Sundrar on the vimana.